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ABSTRACT

A compilation of three papers commissioned by the National Institute of Education, this study discusses the use of community education and work councils (CEWCs) as ways to improve school-to-work and work-to-school transitions for youth and adults. The first paper (1) elaborates the idea of councils comprised of business, industry, education, labor and other key community personnel and institutions, (2) discusses the evolving CEWC effort, (3) describes the operational criteria used to identify collaborative processes for inclusion in the DOL/NMI (Department of Commerce and Labor/National Manpower Institutes) Community Work-Education Consortium pilot program effort, and (4) hypothesizes the outcomes expected from Council-type collaborative processes, and specifies information requirements for testing the hypotheses. The second paper analyzes the implications of the developmental characteristics of youth for CEWC and the career education (CE) programs they might be expected to sponsor; questions selected career education assumptions about youth (e.g., high unemployment and inadequate work-socialization); and discusses the implications for CEWCs and CE programs affecting youth school-to-work transitions. The third paper identifies the crucial issues pertaining to establishment of CEWCs, establishes categories of past and current efforts in improving school-to-work transitions, presents outcomes and problems associated with each type of council, and discusses the major ideas and assumptions underlying the establishment of CEWCs. (VB)

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NIE Papers in Education and Work: Number 9

INDUSTRY/EDUCATION COMMUNITY COUNCILS

by

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December, 1977

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2. Facilities Handbook for Career Education, by William B. Gill and Ann W. Luke of System Development Corporation.

3. Sex Discrimination in the Selection of School District Administrators: What Can Be Done?, by Doris M. Timpano of Career Women in Education and Louise W. Knight.

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7. The Career Intern Program: Final Report (two volumes: Vol. I, An Experiment In Career Education That Worked; Vol., II, Technical Appendices).

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PREFACE

In 1976, the U. S. Departments of Commerce and Labor funded the establishment and support of Work-Education Consortium and Community Education and Work Councils across the nation through contracts with the National Manpower Institute (21 sites), the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (6 sites), the National Alliance of Businessmen and U. S. Chamber of Commerce (various sites) and the State of New Jersey.

In preparation for the evaluation of, and research on, these efforts, the National Institute of Education commissioned three papers on the use of Community Education and Work Councils as ways to improve school to work and work to school transitions for youth and adults. These papers served as the focus of an NIE-sponsored conference, held in order to help the NIE design council-related research and evaluation activities.

The present volume begins with a paper by Paul E. Barton which elaborates the idea of councils comprised of business, industry, education, labor and other key community personnel and institutions. The paper also discusses the evolving Community Education and Work Council effort and describes the operational criteria used to identify collaborative processes for inclusion in the DOL/NMI Community Work-Education Consortium pilot program effort. Finally, a set of hypotheses is presented which delineates the outcomes expected from Council-type collaborative processes; and information requirements are specified which are needed in order to test the hypotheses.

The second paper, by Sue B. Bobrow, presents an analysis of the implications of the developmental characteristics of youth for Community Education and Work Councils and the career education programs they might be expected to sponsor. The analysis was undertaken in order to decide whether or not to evaluate councils and, if so, what outcomes councils might be expected to effect. Selected career education assumptions about youth (e.g., high unemployment and inadequate work-socialization) are questioned. The implications for

Community Education and Work Councils and career education programs in affecting youth school-to-work transitions are analyzed and discussed in detail. Finally, those council-based program activities which can be expected to effect youth transitions from school to work are outlined.

The final paper, by John J. Walsh, identifies the crucial issues pertaining to establishment of Community Education and Work Councils. Categories of past and current council efforts in improving school-to-work transitions are established, and the outcomes and problems associated with each type of council are presented. Next, discussion on the major ideas and assumptions underlying the establishment of the proposed Community Education and Work Councils is presented.

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I. COMMUNITY COUNCILS AND THE TRANSITIONS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND WORK

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1. INTRODUCTION

The basic purpose of this paper is to elaborate the idea of Councils composed of business, education, labor and other key individuals and community institutions to a degree that will lay a basis for further work to test this approach to education/work transitions systematically. It is not, in itself, an attempt to develop an experimental or evaluation methodology. Instead, its purpose is to provide a resource that can be used by others to suggest and develop alternative approaches to enlarging knowledge about the effectiveness of collaborative approaches at the community level. It encompasses the youth transition from education, and, more briefly, the adult transition at various points from work to education.

The Youth and Adult sections of the paper start with a summarization of knowledge about barriers in transitions. This summary of what is known about these barriers is part of a larger body of analysis by this author and his associates at the National Manpower Institute,[1] and also extracts from Bridging the Gap, written by the College Entrance Examination Board and funded by the National Institute of Education. While it is from such analyses of the existing transition process that the approach of Councils derives, there are alternative or complementary programmatic responses that could be drawn from the same analysis. These will be commented on. Since this paper is about the Council approach, it will move quickly to an exposition of that alternative, including the explanation of the concept and the definition of Councils or community collaborative processes.

The state of the art will be summarized, recognizing that no systematic study has been made of the usually fragmentary ventures now underway and that operational practice is under evolution at the present time in the form of a pilot effort launched by the federal government. This pilot effort will be described in some detail because it may be an opportunity for the undertaking of more long range evaluation and development efforts. A survey of existing Council efforts through site visits and systematic data collection was not provided for in the commissioning of this paper. Included in the description of this evolving effort is the operational criteria used to identify collaborative processes for inclusion in the pilot effort, although these should in no way be regarded as official in the conduct of that pilot program.*

Finally, a set of hypotheses will be presented as to the outcomes expected from Council-type collaborative processes at the community level, and the information requirements specified that would enable the testing of these hypotheses. There will be divergence of opinion about what is here specified, but, hopefully, this will provoke the kind of discussion which will further systematic analysis.

While a somewhat parallel organization is used for the adult section, there is the recognition that practice here is even further behind than what is discussed and underway on the youth side. Therefore, this section will be correspondingly shorter.

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* The author does not have operational responsibility for the portion of the pilot program being carried out by the National Manpower Institute.

2. YOUTH

The period of life discussed here is roughly age 14 to 20. While all youth of this age may fall within the scope of Council activities, there is particular (although not exclusive) concern for those not effecting their transition through the four-year college route, and even more particularly those not traveling the route of professional degrees. While the young people to which this paper applies differ considerably in terms of the ease with which they move from adolescence to economic adulthood---achieve "occupational establishment" in Marcia Freedman's phrase[2] ---the institutions and inter-institutional processes with which this paper deals affect (or are involved with) all youth in this broad category.

Youth transition is addressed from the standpoint of improving access to roles which aid in occupational maturation. It is not intended as a treatment approach geared only to a subset of youth labeled "disadvantaged" or "minority." It is assumed, or here posited, that the most viable approach is to increase opportunities for occupational maturation, and that those most in need will benefit disproportionately, that treatment efforts designed solely for a deprived segment will have self-defeating features, and that political realities dictate the organization of a larger constituency of beneficiaries in order to achieve the actions that will help those most in need.

A. The Transition to Work Problem

The observations which lead to the conclusion that some new effort is needed were such as strongly to suggest that present arrangements for the youth transition--for a large segment of youth--were not affording the opportunities that we are capable of. Such observation of the existing situation leads to a conclusion that changes were desirable. Thus, a detailing of these observations is a critical link to a conclusion that change is needed, and to a form of change embodied in Councils and collaborative processes.[3]

While there is no complete independent analysis of youth transition experiences within the confines of this paper, the central conclusions and facts can be set forth. Then they will be related to alternative courses of action and the choice of a process approach embodied in Councils and involving collaboration among institutions and sectors at the community level.

- There is an age gap between high school certification at 17 or 18 and hiring for regular adult jobs at age 20 or 21.

  Youth do work both during school and immediately after leaving school in what can be loosely termed "youth jobs." These jobs likely have value, but the fact that a market has developed for youth labor excluded from regular entry level employment does not remove the fact of a delay in the transition process that is known to be avoidable by virtue of the experience of the firms that do hire them, and the cooperative education programs (among others) that provide for earlier and gradual transition.[4]

- The results of surveys of employer hiring practices showing an "age gap" are supported by analysis of the nat[illegible] of jobs youth do hold.

  The existence of a separate market for youth labor, based on age alone, shows up in the comparisons of occupations held by teenagers with those held by adults with the same educational achievement. Also, the relevance of age before 21, as compared with certification, shows up in research that finds little difference (holding age constant) in the labor market achievements of high school dropouts and high school graduates.[5]

- These "youth jobs", during schooling, are arranged almost entirely by the youth themselves, and little advantage is taken of the opportunity for a developmental integration of education and experience.

  The fact that youth want work experience while in school, but that it is almost entirely a matter they arrange through "friends and relatives" demonstrates both a desire to work on the part of the youth and that the opportunity is there to integrate work more closely with education.

- There is very little useful occupational information available that is relevant to local job markets for use by students, counselors, teachers and curriculum planners.

The Occupational Outlook Handbook remains, in most settings, the primary resource and is largely limited to nationwide information. The start made on collecting "job vacancy" statistics has been abandoned. There is seldom a complete inventory of local training facilities and opportunities available. Youth have limited information about occupations, though some research shows that those who know more fare better. There is inadequate research on the role better information would play in the transition from school to work. The new computerized job information and counseling systems are handicapped by a lack of available good information.[6]

- While there is growing acceptance of the value of experience opportunities related to classroom education, there are relatively few such opportunities.

While some fine models exist around the country, the planned interchange of experience and education is neither large nor rapidly growing at the level of secondary education. Cooperative Education programs are still small in number and federally financed work experience programs are largely for income maintenance with the jobs primarily within the school system itself. School, employer and union participation is lacking in expanding experience opportunities. Some form of local public service or "Community Internships" will be required in most communities to supplement opportunities in the private sector.[7]

- Placement services to in-school and graduating students, with follow-up to see how things worked out, is practically non-existent.

  The services of the Public Employment Service to in-school and graduating youth have been on the decline since 1964. (Only one percent of the "Class of 1972" was found by the Office of Education's survey to have gotten jobs through the Employment Service.) Schools do little placement, although there are several working school models. The stimulus intended to placement under the Higher Education Amendments of 1972 never really took place. There are exceptions, particularly in good vocational education schools where counselors and individual teachers work to find jobs for graduates.[8]

- Counseling services, particularly for those who do not end up going to college, are in short supply, and the professionals engaged in providng such services are frequently not well informed about the work world.

  There is an inadequacy in the numbers of counselors, in the certification arrangements which screen out non-teachers, in the nature of counselor preparation, in the non-counseling uses to which existing counselors are put, and in the harnessing of resources at large in the community. There are, again, numerous models for doing it better, and a consciousness on the part of the American Personnel and Guidance Association in getting things on a better track, through seeking a broader counseling base in federal legislation.[9]

- Laws relating to youth employment are overlapping, and not well understood by youth, parents, school officials, and employers, creating a barrier to work experience programs and youth employment.

  There are both state and federal "child labor" laws that affect youth under 19. Field work has established that there is considerable confusion among employers about what these laws permit and prohibit, and that the possibilities of an employer making a mistake in hiring has resulted in excluding youth because of disadvantages that might result under Workmen's Compensation and other laws.[10]

There are a variety of regulations and practices that inhibit the broadening of education beyond the classroom.

These range from the way "school attendance" is reported for financial aid to the schools which might not include a day in the "experience" phase of education, inflexibilities in class scheduling that inhibit a variety of possible work experience linkages to regular employing institutions, and "work permit" arrangements usually administered by the schools.[11]

While there are important exceptions, the question of how much actual job skill training should be conducted in the public classroom has been decided on pedagogical grounds, or historical precedent, rather than a careful relating of public efforts to employer hiring and training practices, and to private schools that provide skill training.

Employer hiring and training practices vary from community to community and industry too, and also change over time. Yet decisions made about public school skill training tend to remain in effect for very long periods of time, and not be geared to actual employer behavior. Little effort is made to integrate private school training and public classroom training in ways that would minimize the need for public classroom training through cooperative arrangements.

These are some of the major disjunctures in the movement of youth into economic adulthood. In some cases, direct evidence is cited, such as employer hiring practices toward persons under 21 and the "youth job" labor market that exists below that age. In other instances, the absence of linking mechanisms, such as any placement assistance to graduating high school students, is cited with the implicit assumption that the transition would be smoother, and the youth-job match a better one, if such mechanisms were present.

B. Alternatives to Approaching the Problem

The elements of a successful transition are many, and the locus of responsibility varied. There are questions about which particular problem area accounts for the largest share of present difficulties, and there are different approaches to any one of them. To further confuse the development of policy, different youth experience these barriers differentially, and single approaches are likely selective as to the youth who are affected.

There are a number of components to an improvement effort that might be looked upon as experimental models, and within the components, there are alternative approaches which would warrant comparison. In these terms of substantive actions, there are a number of current efforts that are promising and need close attention, such as:

- Experience Based Career Education which is being extended by NIE and OE, and other education/experience programs;
- New statewide computer and occupational information systems being piloted by the Department of Labor;
- Experimental school placement services being evaluated in...for one example...Pennsylvania in three sites;
- Several instances of community resource inventories to be used in occupational counseling; and
- Curriculum reforms instituted under Career Education.

In addition to recommending broad collaborative processes through Councils, there are a number of programmatic approaches which need trial such as:

- o Community employment counseling services which draw on all resources available in the community;
- o Model employment placement services, on a pooled basis with a consortium of high schools, through the public employment service, jointly between the schools and the employment service, and through volunteer service organizations;

- Community internship opportunities to enlarge experience opportunities for students beyond what is available in the regular job market;
- Model delivery systems for all work experience programs within a community to overcome inefficiencies and duplication;
- Demonstrations of employer cooperation through federal employers located in a community;
- Experimentation to see how experience/education combinations may affect employer attitudes toward hiring youth;
- An education program to provide accurate information about child labor laws;
- Demonstration TV to provide information about occupations and access to them;
- A local occupational inventory of jobs, service, and training opportunities;
- Publication of a guide for local communities showing them innovative models now in existence to integrate education and work; and
- A comparison of job performance of 18 year olds and adults to see how accurate employer stereotypes are.

While such substantive actions are ultimately involved, an alternative is to start with a process rather than a program. There would be established in a community a collaborative process among the institutions and individuals that have a portion of the control over, or involvement in, the transition from school to work. Out of that collaboration would come an assessment of the needs, and a substantive agenda for meeting them which could well be drawn from the possibilities just described. The term Councils has been used for such a process, and Community Education-Work Councils by the National Manpower Institute.

This approach was arrived at based upon the analysis of the problem which discloses how separate the major institution are, one from the other, and how hard it would be to succeed on any programmatic front with any single institution acting alone.

This view is based on the observation that much of the transition process is outside the reach of the schools; that employers have conceptions of persons under 21 not necessarily changed by curriculum modifications at age 17; that the integration of experience opportunities with education will require joint action and planning on the part of schools and employers; that a great deal of the resources available in the community for advising young people on how to get from where they are to the careers they want lies with the already employed--and retired--citizenry; that parents may well reassume some of the duties they abdicated if they are involved enough to have access to the information they would need to do so; that there is a voluntary sector* that wants to be involved in youth access to useful roles; and that unions have both an interest in improving the prospects for youth and a stake in how this is done, especially when it involves expanding experience opportunities at earlier ages.

Beyond these observations, there is the fact that government has resources that can be tapped, and responsibilities in this area to be carried out--the public Employment Service and the Prime Sponsors under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, for example--but it cannot be successful acting alone; that the assembly of up-to-date information about training and job opportunity means that the cooperation of training and employing institutions has to be achieved and that it would be desirable to take maximum advantage of such existing initiatives, for example, as the National Alliance of Businessmen, the Human Resources Development Institute, the Council for Economic Education, and the Chamber of Commerce's new pilot efforts in leading employer involvement with Career Education.

The alternative of Councils and a collaborative process derive from these linkages which would be necessary to beneficially affect youth's negotiation of the transition process.

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* The relatively new National Collaboration for Youth, a collection of the older organizations such as YMCA and YWCA, the Boys Clubs, the Boy Scouts, and others, is an indication of such interest.

It was set forth by its advocates as a matter worth trying on a pilot basis, so that judgments could be made about any broader applicability.

Having distinguished among basic alternatives of program and process, it is now necessary to be more definitive about the terms which are being used.

C. The Council Approach: Concept and Definition

The words "Council" and "collaborative process" have been used interchangeably. A Council or Community Education-Work Council, is no more than one particular name for a collaborative process, so it is the latter words which become important, and that is what will be defined.

A process of collaboration means the participation of the representatives of the important institutions and sectors of the community that have the responsibility, resources, and influence to deal with the whole of the transition to regular adult employment. It means an attempt to accomplish jointly what could not be achieved singly, and a whole that is larger than the sum of its parts.

A "collaborative process," as used here, is identified by:

> being an organized activity with an agreed-upon policy for its conduct.
>
> the participation of representatives of education, business, labor, parents, the voluntary and service organization sector, the public, students...or at least a sufficient number of the above to provide the expectation of significant achievement.
>
> an involvement in the improvement of the transition arrangements rather than the rest of the group being "advisory" to any one of the represented institutions or sectors.
>
> the development of, or working on the development of, an agenda of substantive actions, a prioritizing of the items on the agenda, and planning toward actually carrying out the agenda.

While these representatives and individuals will be "working together jointly," and thus collaborating, the manner of doing so will include both cooperation and conflict. Each, out of the particular self interest in the quality of the youth transition and a concept of the broader community interest with which they will identify, will have a motivation to cooperate. But each, out of differences in self interest and concept of the broader community interest will also be in conflict from time to time with one or more of the other parties. Therefore, there must be strong commitment to the processes of cooperation on the part of principal constituencies or agreements will collapse when sensitive issues arise.

Some examples of motivation for cooperation would be the employers' stake in the quality with which the labor supply is shaped, equal access to entry workers, and the attitudes youth develop about work and the economic system. Schools want their graduates to be successful in the employment world and need employer help in arranging for experience opportunity during education, and increased community support; unions will want the improved information about growth in occupations. Parents would want the information with which to be of greater help in assisting their children with career choices; they too often feel useless and helpless at the time of critical career decisions. As the education-work initiative unfolds, there will be generally a greater awareness of the responsibility each sector of the community has for the transition process, and this will tend to make these sectors want to be favorably judged as to whether they are meeting those responsibilities.

Some examples of sources of conflict might stem from more pressure from employers and/or employees for job specific training than the schools think desirable to give in the classroom, employer perceived lack of appreciation on the part of the schools that they cannot provide job and paid experience opportunities beyond what their sales volumes and production requirements will allow, and concerns of unions that greater competition to adult job holders may result from more intense efforts to smooth the youth transition to work.

There are, of course, forces at work which retard the collaboration here described. This is obviously the case since the slippages in the transition process have been heavily attributed to the tendencies of the various parties that are in a position to influence it to go their separate ways. The situation moves toward collaboration when one or more of these parties perceives enlarged possibilities arising from it, and exercise the leadership necessary to bring it about.

The motivations for cooperation seem likely to be strong enough to accommodate a degree of conflict, and under such circumstances conflict can be a positive force in balancing the interests in the various sectors. It is, of course easily recognized that what is described is a form of democratic pluralism...which always has the potential for wise and unwise decisions.

The concept of a collaborative process is derived from the analysis of how youth now fare in the transition from school to work, the role key institutions now play in this, and the critical relationships which exist and do not exist among them. An understanding of the derivation of the conclusion that a process approach should be tried on a pilot basis is necessary for formulating more systematic investigation and evaluation of results. It will likely occur to any reader that one or another aspect of this process approach has been under theoretical development in the social sciences.

That there is very much social science research and theory which treats of aspects of what is here described is inevitably the case when such a large and significant sector of society's functioning is under examination. The theory of adolescent development and growth is involved. The large body of study now embraced by the term organization and development is involved. The body of community development and community organization theory and practice is relevant. Political science...as much (even more) than any other discipline is involved (David Truman's, The Governmental Process, is one excellent example). There are behaviors involved which are the province of Sociology, Social Psychology, and Psychology. Economics would consider itself to be a vehicle for analysis of these problems. The History of the matter is not to be ignored. The placing of this in a theoretical framework which is drawn from the current stage of development of the social sciences would require the kind of integration across interdisciplinary lines which is seldom...if ever...achieved.

D. State of the Art: Past and Current Developments

There has been no survey research approach to the frequency and degree of collaborative processes in community education-work initiatives, and such would be a massive undertaking. While operational work by the National Manpower Institute in community initiatives will permit a compilation of a considerable body of information, all the information is not in, nor processed, and is not available in synthesized form. It would, in any event, not be based on statistical sample, nor would it likely be the total universe of such efforts.

While no systematic survey has been made, we do know there are a fair number of examples of a collaborative process that approaches the definition here given, although most all would have a considerable way to go in implementing a broad range of joint ventures that would close all the gaps identified in this paper in the section on the transition to work problem.

There is much a greater number of communities that have launched a particular project or program through joint effort where the foundation has been laid for a more ambitious undertaking.[12] There are a very large number of activities that have memberships similar or somewhat similar to what is specified in this paper that do not fit the definition of collaboration used here. They are the many "advisory councils" at the local level to the various parts of the education system. In their advisory capacity to the schools, they may perform very well or very poorly in terms of their intended purpose. In either case, they do not constitute a "collaborative process" by virtue of the fact that they are created by the schools with individuals selected by the schools, for purposes of giving advice on the conduct of school affairs. They may be very useful to the schools, and a necessary part of decision making, particularly in the advice they can give to vocational education as to the skills industry needs, the proper content of courses, and the performance levels desired.

The presentation here of the possibility of collaborative ventures playing a role in the whole of the transition to work is not connected with any judgment as to the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of advisory councils; they can very well serve their intended purpose and at the same time leave unattended some critical portions of the transition process.

Having made a distinction between a collaborative process, here called a Community Education-Work Council, and an advisory council, it is apparent that any distinction is in what they actually do rather than in what they are called; what started with the intention of joint initiative could end up in a passive role, and vice versa. The possibility could not be ruled out that there are advisory councils functioning very much like Community Education-Work Councils.

A number of recent initiatives and perspectives are changing the current state of affairs with regard to local collaboration. This includes the effects of the implementation of NIE's Experience Based Career Education Models, Kenneth Hoyt's increasing insistence that collaboration is vital to the success of Career Education, the increasing activity of national organizations such as the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the Human Resources Development Institute, the National Alliance of Businessmen, the Chamber of Commerce, the Department of Labor in its new occupational information programs, three federal Cabinet agencies acting in concert (HEW, Labor and Commerce), and the National Manpower Institute. In short, the state of the art is in a state of development.

For thinking about systematic research and evaluation attempts, it will be useful to inject an ongoing project that could be a basis for more scientific additions or follow-ons.

The NMI/Federal Government Pilot Effort

So far the discussion has been of local collaboration as a response to a set of findings about the youth transition, but in general rather than in terms of current developments. An effort, just starting, will be described to aid in considering research and evaluation activities.

The Departments of Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, and Commerce are launching a pilot effort to increase collaboration at the community level, in the form of a Community Work-Education Consortium. It has the following elements:

a. A cooperative arrangement among the three Cabinet departments,

b. A Work-Education Consortium of 15 communities and the involvement of about 15 other communities with collaborative efforts,

c. The use of a private intermediary (the National Manpower Institute) in establishing the Work-Education Consortium,

d. The cooperation of a variety of national organizations to identify the other communities,

e. The provision of technical assistance and information about similar efforts across the nation and consulting services to the participating communities, and

f. A community desk arrangement managed by the Steering Group to carry out a "special relationship" with the participating communities.

The coming together of the three Cabinet agencies to pursue a single objective is the starting point of the pilot effort. The broadening of that collaboration to include national organizations* provides a proper foundation in Washington from which to erect collaborative arrangements at the community level.

Faced at the outset was the question of how local collaboration could be encouraged from a national level, particularly when it originated with the federal government. Would it be a contradiction for a federal presence in a local community to urge local, and heavily private, initiative? The answer was that it would not be a contradiction if the federal role was limited to encouragement, if it were clearly not a federally funded "program" that would make communities think it was just another avenue for obtaining federal financial support, and if non-federal, and non-government instrumentalities were involved in direct relationships with the communities, and with counterpart organizations within the communities.

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*A few examples would be the American Personnel and Guidance Association, the American Association of Junior and Community Colleges, the National Alliance of Businessmen, the Human Resources Development Institute.

It has been decided that one prong would be the organization of a network of 15 community collaborative efforts (called a Work-Education Consortium) with the assistance of a Washington-based nonprofit organization, the National Manpower Institute.* The other would be the selection of an additional 15 communities through the national organizations previously referred to.

The communities included in the network will have to demonstrate the potential for collaboration. There will be given special consideration to communities where efforts are already underway and there is potential for broadening it in terms of the nature and level of the participation, and extending the substantive work undertaken in the "gap" areas of the transition from school to work. There is a desire to recognize and work with the particular forms that have evolved in particular communities and to contribute to their evolution into fuller blown initiatives and models.

The greater development of a collaborative process, and expansion of the substantive agenda, is expected to occur from:

- o the consulting assistance provided by the National Manpower Institute and the federal Steering Group on both the collaborative process and substantive matters,
- o the assurance of adequate secretariat services to a local Council, to get the work done, providing very limited financial or other assistance where that is necessary in light of a particular local situation,
- o the "special relationship" which will be developed between the three participating Cabinet agencies and the 15 communities, which may further the integration of ongoing federally funded efforts with the work of a Community Council.

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* Willard Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute published The Boundless Resource: A Prospectus for an Education-Work Policy. That book develops the recommendation for pilot Community Education-Work Councils in the first four chapters.

- the interchange of information and ideas which results from a network arrangement, such interchange to be facilitated by the National Manpower Institute.

Operational Criteria for Identifying Council Approaches for the Pilot Effort

In the first part of this paper, there was provided a definition of a "collaborative process" as used here, and applying generally to the concept of Community Education-Work Councils. In connection with this first pilot project, there will be a screening and selection procedure to identify the communities recommended to the Steering Group for selection. In all cases, the communities must show the existence of some collaborative process. Once that is established, the criteria used for recommending inclusion will, for the most part, relate to the need to achieve diversity, so as to observe the possibilities in different settings, and for having the most to exchange among the communities. The first step will be to identify from 35 to 40 communities from which the selection of the final 15 will be made, using the following guides:

A variety in the sources of leadership in the achievement of a collaborative process.

The possibilities include some segment of the educational community, the employing community, organized labor, local government, parents, the voluntary sector, students, and just concerned citizens. Within such groups, there are varying possibilities. In education, for example, there is school managment, the teachers, the counselors, and career education initiatives. In the employing community, there are *ad hoc* groups of employers, the Chamber of Commerce, and the National Alliance of Businessmen.

A variety in the stages of development of the collaborative process.

The interest would be to have communities ranging from a collaborative process just started and stimulated by *The Boundless Resource* or the *Creation of the Work-Education Consortium*, to a situation where a Council-type operation has been underway for several years. Some efforts will consist of a set of representatives of particular institutions. Others will have a broad individual membership, with dues, annual meetings, election of officers, etc.

Differences in the substantive agenda resulting from the collaborative process.

While there will be no attempt to prescribe the substantive approaches that must be undertaken by the Councils, the review of the transition process by NMI and others would suggest that substantive actions would be likely in the following areas:

- integration of experience with education.
- counseling assistance drawing broadly on community resources,
- placement assistance and follow-up,
- information for career choice,
- systematic exposure of counselors and teachers to the nature of work,
- generally, reduction of barriers that may exist to transition to work--for example, faulty information about the restrictiveness of child labor laws,
- attitude formation of students to work, and industry to students and high school graduates,
- understanding of the workworld and how the local economy operates.

It is unlikely that any existing collaborative process is operating in all of these areas. A variety of agendas will facilitate the interchange of information that will, hopefully, broaden all of them, and also provide the expertise within the Consortium on all substantive areas of the transition to work.

Variation in size and location.

While there will be no attempt to secure statistical representation of all communities in picking the 15, it will be desirable to have a variety in terms of size and geographical location. Also, something less than the entire city or metropolitan area should be included.

After initial identification of the 35 to 40 communities based on the considerations above, a considerable amount of on-site interviewing and observation by the National Manpower Institute will take place. The criteria for selection of the 15 will include:

- the strength of commitment from employers, labor, the education system and other community segments.
- the possibilities of the effort succeeding in what it is attempting to do,
- the actions that would be taken to improve the collaborative process if the community were selected.

The description so far is of the Work-Education Consortium to be facilitated by the National Manpower Institute. As stated earlier, another small group of communities will be selected by the Steering Group of the three Cabinet agencies working with national organizations, and without an intermediary or a network arrangement. In addition, the National Manpower Institute will provide an Information Exchange Program which extends beyond the formally participating communities, but includes them. This will have the result of providing some stimulus on a much broader front, and also be a vehicle to report developments within the communities formally participating.

It is entirely possible that other initiatives will be taken by the Steering Group that relate to, or impact on, the pilot communities that cannot be foreseen at the present time, since the three Departments are operating within a broad mandate from the President to bring the worlds of education and work closer together.

E. Hypotheses and Information Required to Test Hypotheses.

While the just described NMI/federal pilot effort is helpful to give some content to what would otherwise be a very general discussion, the scope of this paper is the Council concept, here meaning a broad process of collaboration at the community level. Many such collaborative ventures will exist independently of this particular private effort, and additional ones could be formulated within a research design. The hypotheses as to changes effected should apply broadly, although it is again helpful to relate them to a specific undertaking. What follows, therefore, is somewhat specific with regard to the approach being tried on a pilot basis, but with an eye toward the larger array of efforts that meet the definitions used in this paper.*

The pilot effort is not a controlled experiment, and its use here for illustration and focus should not suggest that scientifically precise data of the kind described will come out of the pilot effort itself.

The cental hypothesis is that the achievement of collaboration among the specified instituions will lead to the taking of a set of actions that will provide enlarged opportunities for youth to mature sooner and more surely in terms of integration into adult work pursuits. The sub-hypotheses may best be related to the stages or levels of the development of the collaborative process and how each evolves from the prior stage. The author's view of the current pilot project will be the basis for relating the information needs to the testing of each hypothesis.

1. The formation of a Steering Group which consists of representatives of three Departments should lead to a plan, and the execution of it, that is the result of collaboration among them.

The isolation of the three key Cabinet agencies from each other in efforts related to, or impinging on, the transition to work is as great as at any other level of government. The process by which the community effort will be carried out at the federal level shows promise of more extensive integration among the agency which has education, the agency which has youth manpower programs and labor clientele, and the agency whose clientele is the business community.

Information Needed:

- Does the collaboration continue past the "kick-off" stage of the project?

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* As far as they might relate to outcomes of the described pilot effort, it should be said that they are the author's and are not an official description of the National Manpower Institute. The author does not have operational responsibility for the pilot program.

- Does it tend to draw in participants at the political executive level, or does the agency representation drop down and down the hierarchy as often happens in interagency arrangements?

- Do the Departments reach agreement among their own agencies, or does it become a collection of program managers from within the three Departments? And if so, does that represent a drawback or an advantage?

- Does it tend toward a traditional approach of attempting to define and install "programs" or does it carry through the objective of stimulation and encouragement of local initiative?

2. The use of a private intermediary should facilitate the encouragement of local initiative in creating collaborative processes.*

The necessary formality of a relationship between the federal government and local institutions and agencies, the intended combined private and public character of the process to take shape in the locality, the need to have a single point of community contact when three federal agencies are involved, the objective of reshaping the use of existing public and private resources at the local level rather than any more than "petty cash" expenditures from the federal treasury all suggest the benefits of a privately based organization to do the developmental work within the communities, and follow through with them once the Consortium is in existence.

Information Needed:

- Does the private intermediary achieve the appropriate balance between representing and fulfilling community needs and serving the interest of the federal government to whom it is under contract?

- Does it succeed in establishing a relationship with a large enough number of communities to enable the creation of a 15 community Consortium?

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* A private intermediary is used in the described pilot effort. Obviously, many collaborative efforts spring from the communities themselves.

- o Does its relationship to the Consortium seem to contribute to the improvement of the collaborative process over what existed in those communities before it was formed?

- o What more do we know about the use of such private organizations in furthering the objectives of the Steering Group when the project is finished?

3. The joining together of 15 communities in a Consortium should increase the degree of collaboration within the communities, and the range and quality of substantive efforts growing out of it.

There is, of course, the choice of working with each community separately. The route chosen here offers the possibility that by an interchange of information and experience among them more will happen than if they developed alone. Beyond the learning opportunity each may have is the possibility of some competition for being viewed as among the best.

Information Needed:

- o Does an interchange of information really take place?

- o Do communities care much about what others are doing, or do they tend to maintain an isolation?

- o Are they overly influenced by a majority opinion among other communities about what is appropriate and what is not?

- o Or does it work the other way...a desire to achieve a uniqueness in approach that distinguishes one community from all the rest?

4. Participation of the communities in the Work-Education Consortium should increase the degree of collaboration among sectors of the community that can make important contributions to assisting youth make a transition to work and shed light on what ingredients in the total effort have that result, so as to facilitate spread to other communities.*

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* If, in fact, the final conclusion is that this would be desirable.

The intermediate objective is the further development of a collaborative process among the key institutions and sectors. The federal interest and special relationship with these communities, the making available the services of the National Manpower Institute, the provision of consultants, and the formation of a network among the communities are all for the purpose of increasing the depth and scope of collaboration.

Information Needed:

- Does the depth and scope of collaboration in the participating communities actually increase?
- Does collaboration proceed to some point where the tough (and more decisive) issues are joined and then stall?
- Does collaboration result in relevant changes in the internal operation of the separate institutions that are favorable to the transition process?
- Does the wider involvement attract the attention of the community political process?

5. The process of collaboration should lead to the creation of an agenda for substantive actions (in such areas as indicated on page 19), the establishment of priorities among them, and the implementation of the agenda.

Once a collaborative process is underway, the question will become whether it results in anything besides talk and the exchange of information. In each community in the Consortium, a plan will be developed for moving education-work cooperative initiatives forward. That, of course, is no guarantee that the plan will be carried out, or that it will be carried out effectively. Such plans do, however, establish a local basis for assessing the quality of further activities.

Information Needed:

- Do the substantive actions address a broad range of transition matters, or tend toward a single "project"?
- Does collaboration follow through into joint implementation, or do the actions taken end up being those of individual institutions?

- Are existing community resources utilized more than they were before?
- Have opportunities actually broadened in terms of
  - placement assistance
  - counseling for career and career preparation choices
  - experience opportunities integrated with classroom education
  - private employment
  - community service
  - occupational information
  - education on other timetables than the present straight through expectations
  - changes in employer attitudes toward hiring youth under age 21
  - those additional (or other) goals the community may set
- Has the quality of the opportunities in those areas benefited by the collaborative process by which they were created, as compared to other efforts that spring from single insititutions?

The development of a comprehensive research design would not stop with the matter of whether or not the specified opportunities were created. The central hypothesis referred to "enlarged opportunities for youth to mature sooner and more surely in terms of integration into adult work pursuits." Whether the specified opportunities lead to such integration is a matter not to be taken for granted in a research study, although the length of time which would be involved to test whether these opportunities lead there would likely be in the range of four to six years...and perhaps longer.

3. ADULTS

The concept of a collaborative process is applicable to creating opportunities for adults to move more easily from work to education. The largest difference is that there is a societal expectation that youth will go to work. There is much less so that adults will go to school. But the same instituitons are involved, if for different reasons, and the same possibilities for collaboration among the key private and public institutions.

There is enough similarity in the process of collaboration that was described in the youth paper to make it redundant to repeat it in connection with adult transitions. It is chiefly the nature of adult problems and potential opportunities, and the character of the agenda that might come out of the collaborative process that is different. Therefore, the discussion which follows will be about the nature of adult transitions and the hypotheses as to the outcomes of such a collaborative process. At the present time, there is no pilot effort with adults comparable to the one now commencing under aegis of the three federal Cabinet agencies.

A. The Transition to Education Problem

Entry into adult life means, for most people, the end of education, often with only the limited training by employers on the job. Yet, workers have needs thrust on them by constant changes in the economic machinery that require that they adapt or become dropouts from industrial society. Workers become dislocated from their jobs due to technological change, national economic policies, changes in consumer buying habits, geographical relocation of industry, adverse international competiton, and just plain mismanagement of their firms. A shift in jobs or occupations often requires formal education and training.

Beyond outright dislocation, the opportunities for moving up the skill ladder during the career years frequently depend on education or training (and the certification which results); if not available, it means the worker is stuck on one of the lower rungs. Non-realization of career goals may result simply from having made the wrong choice when younger...in a system that doesn't give many second chances for substantial redirection of careers through education and training opportunities.

Often, the adult worker did not, could not take advantage of the 12 years of free education available to all if it is taken at one sitting and before the age of 20 or 21. Fifty-one million adult Americans have less than 12 years education. Proportionately, more adult blacks and other minorities are in this situation. The increasing opportunity for two years of education beyond high school at a modest tuition in a community institution is a comparatively recent development, one which was not available when the great majority of today's adults were leaving high school and still without family responsibilities. The lack of concentration on adult needs affects particularly the chances of women...who may be entering the labor market after meeting the responsibilities of motherhood, or who already may be in a "reserved for women only position" and unable to take advantage of whatever reduction of sex role stereotyping may be occurring.

While there are developments in some places, and on particular fronts, that can be built upon, existing circumstances are reinforced by institutional and governmental practices, inadequate information networks and low expectations.

- Adult education offerings through the public school system are limited by state and federal funding levels, the range of curriculum choices, and the assumption that...for adults...education is something to be offered only on a part-time basis.
- Employers want to hire people already trained, and they will limit investments in human capital, fearing that other employers will pirate away employees whose training they did not have to pay for.
- Unemployment insurance provides cash assistance when people are unemployed, but under circumstances that greatly restrict using the available time for education and training.
- There are only a few models of brokering services to match adults' desires for education or training with existing opportunities. While these models point the direction, such services are largely unavailable.

- The training opportunities which do exist often do not match standard work schedules, and employers have been slow to adopt "flexitime" arrangements.
- Employers and unions have, in some instances, negotiated tuition refund and education sabbatical plans, but where they exist they are often taken advantage of by only a small percentage of workers.
- Training and education available under such public programs as the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act and the Social Services program of the Public Assistance Act are often shaped without the participation of representatives of postsecondary education.
- Postsecondary education institutions do not generally have the close relationships with employers and unions that would help workers take advantage of opportunities under bilateral or unilateral education programs, nor do the relationships produce added financial resources to expand offerings by those institutions to adults.
- Educational certification opportunities are frequently blocked by a lack of integration with formal education institutions, so that academic credit is often not available for comparable work.
- While work is underway in the CAEL Consortium on translating work experience into academic credit, it is not yet common practice, and will require close linkages between postsecondary instituions and industry, in order to facilitate movement from work to education.
- Communications between community postsecondary educational institutions and employers/unions are underdeveloped--so as to take less than full advantage of matching skill/credential requirements with the content of course offerings.

This is the situation with regard to adults that would warrant collaboration among the several institutions and sectors.

B. Possible Agenda for a Collaborative Process

What a Community Council will want to do and what priorities it establishes is, of course, up to the participants, after acquainting itself with the kinds of concerns expressed above and taking stock of the particular conditions in the community. We can speculate as to what kinds of undertakings might result...a series of possible activities which could constitute the agenda.

- An inventorying and recordkeeping system of all education/training opportunities and relevant facts about them.
- An inventorying of current industry practices with respect to availability of tuition refund, paid educational leave and flexitime arrangements.
- A cooperative venture with employers and unions to increase awareness of opportunities among employed workers.
- Achieving an understanding of what kinds of opportunities employed workers want, and communicating that to local education/training institutions.
- Operating a cooperative counseling and training/education brokerage service for the adults of the community.
- Arranging with the unemployment insurance office for informing claimants as to community opportunities for education and training.*
- Creating cooperative attempts to improve job quality and productivity.
- Reviewing the effectiveness of such local operations as the public employment service and vocational rehabilitation in meeting the needs of adult workers.
- Creating greater awareness of sex role stereotyping in hiring, promotion and access to training/education opportunities.

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* Particularly where arrangements could be made at the state and possibly federal level to cooperate and help finance such pilot efforts.

- Preparing proposals for pilot programs (to be carried out with state, federal and foundation assistance) to provide the remaining entitlement for those adults who have not yet received 12 years of free public education.
- Establishing linkages to the CAEL Consortium to convert experience into educational credit.

C. Hypotheses

The outcomes are likely to vary considerably among a set of communities undertaking such collaborative efforts, because of what might be quite different priorities on where to start. However, for a set of communities taken as a whole, the hypothesized outcomes are as follows:

- More effective use of the public and private financial resources available to adults for further education and training.
- Improvement of information provided to adults about education and training opportunities.
- Removal of some of the administrative and organizational obstacles (in education and work institutions) which act to limit the fullest and most effective use of these financial and human resources by adults.
- Improvement in the communication processes between education institutions, work institutions, workers and other adults essential for developing education programs and curricula responsive to the needs of adults.
- Increased access of educational institutions to public and, particularly, private education/training resources.
- Improvement of community resources as instruments in the development of policies, plans and programs which effect the availability of and relevance of education and training opportunities for adults.

It has not been the purpose of this paper to develop a research design, or a specific evaluation approach, with regard to local collaborative processes for dealing with education and work transitions. Rather, it has been to attempt to lay the groundwork for that kind of effort, and provide a starting place for further discussion and development among social scientists and evaluators.

NOTES

1. See *The Boundless Resource*, by Willard Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute, 1975; *A Critical Look at Work Measurements*, by Willard Wirtz and Harold Goldstein, 1975; "Youth Unemployment and Career Entry," by Paul E. Barton in *Labor Market Information for Youths*, 1975; "Human Resources, The Changing Labor Market and Undergraduate Education for Youths," by Paul E. Barton, in *Liberal Education*, May 1975; "Youth Transition to Work," by Paul E. Barton, in *From School to Work*, 1976; and "Learning Through Work and Education," by Paul E. Barton, in *Experiential Learning*, 1976.

2. See *The Process of Work Establishment*, by Marcia Freedman, 1969.

3. A more comprehensive treatment of Councils is contained in *The Boundless Resource*, by Willard Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute, 1975. There are a number of other comprehensive documents that both influence this one and provide dimensions not fully covered there. Most particularly, Coleman, et al. *Youth: Transition to Adulthood*, 1973; *Bridging the Gap*, The College Entrance Examination Board, 1975; Seymour Wolfbein, editor, *Labor Market Information for Youths*, 1975; the several volumes by Jerald Bachman, *et al.*, *Youth in Transition*, continuing; interpretative pieces by Herbert Parnes of the longitudinal study he directs; Fredrich Harbison, editor, *The Transition from School to Work*, 1965; Marcia Freedman *The Process of Work Establishment*, 1969; a volume of papers (in press) on the youth transition commissioned by the National Commission for Manpower Policy; the recent articles and speeches by Kenneth Hoyt and Sidney Marland; the report of the National Panel on High schools and Adolescent Education chaired by John Henry Martin, 1974; and Fred and Grace Hechinger's *Growing Up in America*, 1975 (for a broad historical perspective); Ruth Weinstock, *The Greening of the High School*, 1973.

4. See particularly the studies of Freedman, Diamond and Bedrosian, Gavett (Bureau of Labor Statistics), and the National Manpower Institute.

5. See particularly the work of Folk, Kalacheck, Barton, Freedman, and Bachman using the longitudinal data of the University of Michigan survey and Project Talent.

6. See Wirtz and Goldstein, A Critical Look at the Measuring of Work; Stern for a recent review of computerized job placement systems; Flanders for a review of what is now available from Washington, and Lois-Ellin Datta as to the state of knowledge in the area of evaluating the efficacy of occupational information.

7. There is little here in the way of comprehensive surveys. There is a paper by Gallagher in press with the National Commission for Manpower Policy. There are several evaluations of effects of the government work experience programs by Stromsdorfer and the Systems Development Corporation, a proposal for "Educational Work Experience" by Silberman, who has done a study on "Job Satisfaction of Work Education Students." The possibilities for community service and "action learning" are explored by Havighurst, Graham, and Eberly.

8. There has been very little attention to placement services to students in the research literature, except for the many surveys of how people find their jobs (such as the longitudinal study cited in the text), in which teenage youth always show up as not getting them through the school or public employment service in any significant proportions. Early surveys (1963) show that many more college students get their jobs with school help than high school graduates.

9. The most comprehensive recent survey of counseling is by Ginzberg.

10. See the six-city study of the impact of child labor laws conducted by the National Manpower Institute for the National Committee on the Employment of Youth.

11. This is not a matter on which there has been any careful attention, except as such obstacles have been encountered and overcome in specific work experience projects.

12. For a fairly recent summary of such efforts see Gallagher's paper commissioned by the National Commission for Manpower Policy.

II. REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS: LIMITS ON THE PROMISE OF COMMUNITY COUNCILS

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INTRODUCTION

Background

Wirtz (1975), citing statistics on youth and adult unemployment rates, labor force participation rates, educational enrollment rates, and occupational distributions, briefly describes what he sees as work problems of youth. He proceeds to list the career education programs which are expected to affect these problems and argues for a mechanism for delivering these programs, community education-work councils. He sees these councils as lodged within the community, supported partly by the community, and composed of representatives of those groups who affect and should have responsibility for the transition of youth from school to work, e.g., teachers and school administrators, employers, labor unions, manpower agencies, students, parents, civic leaders. He sees that in recent decades responsibility for youth's transition to work has rested disproportionately within the educational system. However, the school's historical emphasis on academic training and the fact that it meets the economic structure along a narrow frontier restricts its ability to deliver career education programs effectively. Wirtz conceives of councils in response to his perception of a need for an institution which takes primary responsibility for coordinating the socialization of youth to work and the placement of youth into work. In other words, he sees councils as youth's agent and as the reestablishment of communal responsibility for youth's socialization to the productive aspect of adult life.

Purpose of this Paper

The initial purpose of this paper was to assess the implications of the developmental characteristics of youth for:

- community education-work councils; and

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[1] I am indebted to Thomas K. Glennan, Jr., P. Michael Timpane, Roger Vaughan and Barbara Williams for their very helpful reviews of an earlier draft of this paper.

- the career education programs which coucils might be expected to sponsor

in order to decide:

- whether to evaluate councils; and if so,
- what outcomes councils might be expected to affect.

Youth are defined to include preadolescent children in school (7-11 years); adolescents in or out, but primarily in school (12-18 years); and young adults in or out of school (19-24 years).[1]

If we define developmental characteristics as those characteristics unique to a given stage of the life cycle, and if we restrict our interest to developmental characteristics relevant to work, these characteristics have few and straightforward implications for councils and the programs they might be expected to sponsor. These implications should be specified, and we do so briefly. However, we argue that the more important questions are whether the institutions that affect youth: (1) encourage them to confront the developmental tasks relevant to work; and (2) provide the experiences and information they need to accomplish these tasks satisfactorily. These are the questions about which career education and council proposals make several assumptions. The bulk of this paper questions these assumptions, in the belief that a decision to evaluate councils must be based on knowledge about:

- whether there are failures in youth's transition from school to work; and
- in cases of failure, whether the problems reside in the means of socializing youth in work or in the structure and cycles of the economy.

In other words, is there a difference to be made, and if so, can the programs which councils might be expected to deliver make that difference?

In sum, the concept of community education-work councils is essentially a delivery-system concept, i.e., the concept of a collaborative as opposed to a single sector structure, e.g., schools, for delivering career education programs. Consequently, questions about councils per se are primarily organizational questions and as such, lie outside of the scope of this paper. However, if an organizational analysis of councils indicates that they are a promising means for delivering career education programs, this paper should indicate whether they can be expected to have effects for youth and where those effects might be expected to occur.

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[1] The career education movement embraces youth and adults, i.e., it is concerned with a smooth transition from school to work from work to school (e.g., Wirtz, 1975; Marland 1974). However, this paper is only concerned with youth and their assumption of adult work roles.

Organization of the Paper

The paper is organized into three sections:

- developmental characteristics of youth;
- career education assumptions about youth in general; and
- comments about the school-work transition of subgroups of youth.

The first and third sections are short--the first because longer treatment does not seem warranted; the third, because there is no time to provide the systematic analysis which the subgroups require. The first section addresses all three groups of youth. The second and third sections concentrate on late adolescents (16-18 years) and young adults (19-24 years). There are more data for these ages than for younger adolescents. However, more important, these are the ages at which "the rubber meets the road," i.e., youth begin to move into the labor force and we can observe evidence and possible causes of work problems.

DEVELOPMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH

Figure 1 lists the central developmental tasks relevant to the world of work for the three groups of youth.

Age	Developmental Tasks Relevant to Work
7-11 years	o Development of a sense of environmental mastery and competence.
12-18 years	o Psychological accommodation of physiological changes. o Exploration and choices of mate, education, and occupation. o Formation of autonomous identity.
19-24 years	o Exploration and choices of mate, education, and occupation. o Formation of autonomous identity.

Fig. 1-- Central Developmental Tasks Relevant to the World of Work by Life Stage

Pre-Adolescent Age Group

The pre-adolescent child is oriented to do, make, accomplish, control (Erikson, 1963). This competence objective is clearly conducive to productive, i.e., work, activities. Thus, pre-adolescent children can be expected to be receptive to any school efforts to achieve the career education goal of integrating general education with "various forms of exposure to the meaning of work and service" (Wirtz, 1975). This is particularly true if exposure to work involves acting on, manipulating the environment. Acting on is consistent with both Erikson's concept of doing and Piaget's proposition that the pre-adolescent child is in the cognitive stage of concrete operations, a stage compatible with perceptual and sensory-motor encounters with the environment. Councils may be important here in helping teachers to locate work-world objects that children can operate, e.g. a telephone switchboard, and in coordinating class field trips to observe highly active industrial processes, e.g., food processing.

Adolescent and Young Adult Age Groups

As we examine the central tasks for adolescents and young adults, they are primarily ones of transition--away from parents and into adult roles, including work roles. In general, they are compatible with the objectives of career education. However, two important developmental tasks divert attention from, if they do not actively interfere with, the work orientation of these groups. One of these is learning about and psychologically accepting hetereosexual love--in its erotic and philia senses. The other is the formation of a self-identity distant enough from the parents' to provide the youth with the autonomy expected of him in adulthood.

These two tasks have several implications for councils and the career education programs which they might sponsor.

o The peer group is important in working out both tasks, especially for the adolescent groups--although male and female adolescents tend to use it differently (e.g., Timpane, et al., 1976), and the individual uses it differently, depending on whether the objective is interpersonal, physical and emotional intimacy or distancing from the parents. This functional relation between youth and peer group places a limit on the extent to which adolescents should be separated from concentrations of their peers, e.g., moved from schools to work groups of diverse ages.

o Although the behaviors associated with these tasks (e.g., flightiness, rebelliousness, emotional extremes) are the most provoking, irritating, and distressing to parents, teachers, and employers, youths who do not resolve these challenges more or less satisfactorily encounter them later in their lives, often in inappropriate and costly contexts. Thus, in general we do not see them as behaviors which career education programs should try to "solve."

o For youth in general these behaviors may be frequent or extreme enough to place discernible limits on youth's task orientation. If this is the case, youth will be less attentive to career education programs, and career educationalists should limit the effects they expect.

o These behaviors may affect employer's willingness to hire younger rather than older workers--either because these behaviors in fact discernibly limit youth's task orientation or employers think they do. The relevant question here is whether youth are in fact less task-oriented than adults. Councils may be in a position to elucidate this question. For example, a youth's attraction to peers may reduce his productivity by diverting him from work. However, adults are strongly affected by peer pressure in ways which reduce their productivity. For example, adults clearly reduce their output in response to peer sanctions against "rate busters." Similarly, all stages in the life cycle involve certain emotional challenges which some proportion of the age cohort will act out, e.g., the depressions and sexual adventures of adult males who believe that their careers have peaked. It is not clear that a greater proportion of young than of older cohorts act out in ways which affect their productivity. Youthful acting out may be more flamboyant, but not necessarily any more devastating for productivity.

o Although adolescents and young adults are often at odds with their parents and parental surrogates (e.g., teachers), normal adolescents are positively oriented toward adults and adulthood (e.g., Timpane, et al., 1976). In other words, they want to become adults, but to the extent that they need adult information and guidance to get there, they are reluctant to accept this help from parents or parental figures. Wirtz (1975) notes that there are currently no institutions which act as "young people's agents," implying that councils might serve this purpose. We agree that there are no such institutions for the school-work transition, although there are models for such institutions, e.g., in the health area (young people's clinics). We also agree that councils could serve as agents for youth, although this will not just "happen." Characteristics such as staffing would seem to have to vary depending upon council purpose.

Summary

For the three age groups the central developmental tasks relevant to work are generally consistent with the intent of career education programs and community education-work councils. The adolescent and young adult tasks of accommodating heterosexual love and forming self-identities place certain limits on these programs, but they also indicate a particular role that councils might fill--that of agent for youth.

CAREER EDUCATION ASSUMPTIONS: YOUTH IN GENERAL

The question in this and the next section is whether and why there are problems in how youth are encouraged or able to pursue developmental tasks. The answers to this question will indicate whether career education programs and consequently councils can be effective, and, if so, how. We pursue it by questioning the assumptions that motivate the career education literature (e.g., Wirtz, 1975; Marland, 1974; Hoyt et al., 1973; Hoyt et al., 1972; Barton, 1976, Gallagher, 1976; Reubens, 1974; National Commission for Manpower Policy, 1976), and the major ones for youth in general are represented in Figure 2. It should be remembered that Figure 2 does not represent the assumptions made by any single author. Although there is considerable redundancy in assumptions in the literature, Figure 2 is a composite--hopefully a fair composite of the views to which career educationalists subscribe.

As Figure 2 indicates, the central problem is seen as the excessive unemployment rates for youth aged 16-24, particularly for those in the 16-21 age range (e.g., Hoyt et al., 1972; Marland, 1974; Barton, 1976; Reubens, 1974; Wirtz, 1975). The literature states several explanations, the first being the most sweeping:

- fewer home opportunities today than in early decades of the century and restricted opportunities within school for children to absorb work values, knowledge about the labor market (including career alternatives), and work skills (e.g., Hoyt et al., 1972; Marland, 1974; Tyler, 1976; Reubens, 1974; Wirtz, 1975; Grubb and Lazerson, 1975);
- lack of local and regional manpower projections to align skill supply and demand (Wirtz, 1975);
- school daily calendars which prevent youth from holding certain kinds of part-time jobs and annual calendars which dump large numbers of students into the labor market simultaneously (Hoyt et al., 1972); and
- legal and employer custom barriers to employing youth (Wirtz, 1975; Barton, 1976).

In this section of the paper, we question the assertions: (1) that youth unemployment rates are excessive; and (2) that these rates are attributable to the fact that youth are inadequately socialized to the world of work (i.e., reduced work ethic; inadequate labor market information; mismatches between skills supplied and skills in demand). The assumption about school calendars is briefly addressed in connection with the discussion of unemployment rates; the assumption about inadequate manpower projections, in connection with skill supply-demand mismatches. We do not evaluate assertions about the family or the school, except for the calendar question. The assumption about employer hiring customs is touched on in the last section of the paper in relation to non-college-going youth.

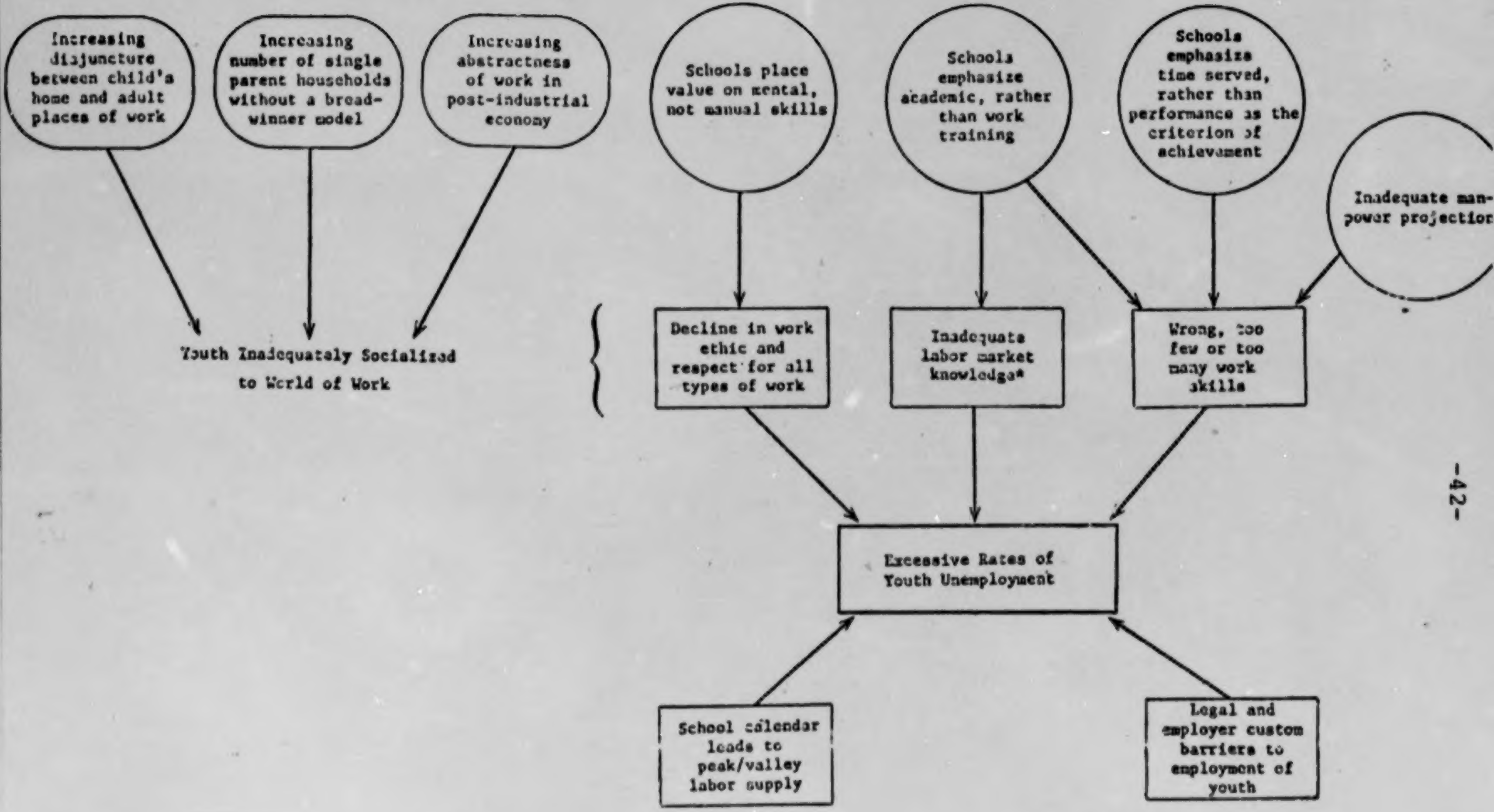
Increasing disjuncture between child's home and adult places of work
Increasing number of single parent households without a bread-winner model
Increasing abstractness of work in post-industrial economy
Youth Inadequately Socialized to World of Work
Schools place value on mental, not manual skills
Schools emphasize academic, rather than work training
Schools emphasize time served, rather than performance as the criterion of achievement
Inadequate man-power projection
Decline in work ethic and respect for all types of work
Inadequate labor market knowledge*
Wrong, too few or too many work skills
Excessive Rates of Youth Unemployment
School calendar leads to peak/valley labor supply
Legal and employer custom barriers to employment of youth

Fig. 2--Career Education Assumptions about Youth in General

*(career alternatives; employer alternatives; job search procedures; employer expectations)

ASSUMPTION: Youth Have Excessive Rates of Unemployment

The first task is to assess the reality of the assumed problem: that youth have excessive rates of unemployment.[1] Undeniably, youth have higher unemployment rates than adults. On average, the rates for youth 16-24 years have been more than double the rates for adults 25 years and older (Table A-6, Manpower Report of the President, 1974). The question is whether these rates are excessive, i.e., higher than they need to be as the result of failure in the school work transition process.

Empirical Evidence

In interpreting these rates, several points are relevant. For youth in general,[2]

o Analyses of youth unemployment (e.g., Folk, 1968; Kalachek, 1969; Barton, 1972; Parnes and Kohen, 1976; Freeman, 1976) have consistently shown that high youth unemployment is heavily attributable to frictional unemployment. Unlike the adult unemployment group, the teenage group consists disproportionately of new entrants and re-entrants after a period of non-participation.[3] As such, the teenage group consists disproportionately of individuals who can be expected to spend some time in job search. When new entrants and re-entrants are eliminated from unemployment figures, teenage (14-19 years old) and adult (over 20 years of age) unemployment rates are very similar. For example, when new entrants and re-entrants are eliminated from the unemployment figures for both groups for June 1964-June 1966, teenage unemployment is 3.1%; the overall rate, 2.6% (Kalachek, 1969, p. 44). For the 1974 case, the teenage (16-19 years old) unemployment figure becomes 5.1%; the figure for all workers, 3.2% (Freeman, 1976, p. 4).

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[1] Note that getting a job, not the quality of obtained jobs is at issue here.

[2] Note that this section is not concerned with the unemployment problems of youth sub-groups, e.g., high school dropouts or minority youth.

[3] In one period, June 1964-June 1966, teenagers 14-19 years of age accounted for 79% of the total unemployment attributable to initial job hunt (Kalachek, 1969, p. 43). In 1974, two-thirds of unemployed 16-19 year olds and 41% of all unemployed were new entrants or re-entrants.

o The unemployment rate of 16-19 year olds shows no long term trend, e.g., 14.7% were unemployed in 1960 and 14.5% in 1973. However, teenage unemployment rates fluctuate considerably in response to cyclical fluctuations in the economy. As indicated, a large proportion of teenage workers represent entrants or re-entrants into the labor market, i.e., "new hires;" the number of new hires, whether youth or adults, is positively correlated with the state of the economy;[1] and the substantial fluctuations in youth rates consequently reflect their special vulnerability to cyclical increases or decreases in demand for labor.

o The proportion of the unemployed who are teenagers has been increasing. From 1947-1962, the ratio of unemployed teenagers (16-19 years old) to unemployed adults was 1:5; from 1963-1965, 1:3; from 1966-1973, 2:5 (Table A-6, Manpower Report of the President, 1974). The increase in absolute numbers clearly coincides with the increasing proportion of the working age population which is 16-19 years old, i.e., the baby boom. However, when we correct for changes in proportions of different age groups in the total populations, we find that the ratio of the 16-19 year old unemployment rate to that of adults over 20 years of age has increased steadily over time. For example, in 1947 that ratio was 2.74; in 1973, 3.8.

In interpreting this significant increase, several points are relevant. Teenagers are capturing a steadily increasing share of the jobs: in 1950, they held 6.3% of the jobs; in 1960, 6.3%; in 1965, 7.1%; in 1970, 7.8%; and in 1973, 8.6% (Table A-6, Manpower Report of the President, 1974). Thus, although their unemployment rates are higher, they are also obtaining more of the available jobs. More telling, however, is that the proportion of teenagers enrolled in school and their labor force participation rates while enrolled have both increased. In 1960, 63% of the 16-19 year olds were enrolled in school, and of those enrolled, 30% participated in the labor force. In 1973, 66% were in school and 42% participated in the labor force. From 1960-1973, the student labor force increased by 130%. The proportion of the 20-24 year olds enrolled in school increased by about 61% from 1960 to 1972. The labor force participation rates for 20-24 year old male enrollees increased from 44% in 1960 to 53% in 1972; for female enrollees, from 41% in 1960 o to 50% in 1972. Student workers are more apt to enter and re-enter the labor market than unenrolled workers of the same age. Since each decision to enter is associated with some probability of job search and thus an unemployed period, the increasing rate of teenage unemployment would seem significantly attributable to the increase in the student labor force. The nature of the increasing rate would seem to be primarily of a frictional unemployment type.

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[1] Teenage unemployment was running between 14.6%-16.8% during the 1958-1962 recession; between 12.2%-12.(% during the 1966-1969 expansion; (Table A-6, Manpower Report of the President, 1974) and between 14.5%-19% during the 1969-1975 recession (Table 571, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1975, p. 349).

o The length of youth unemployment is consistent with a frictional unemployment interpretation of the youth unemployment rate. From 1963-1973, only 17% of the unemployed teenage males and 14% of the unemployed teenage females incurred long-term unemployment, i.e., 15 weeks or more. The 20-24 year old age group had even slightly lower rates of long-term unemployment. The long-term unemployment rate for youth 16-24 years old has varied from 50%-60% of the rate for all other age groups 25-64 years old.

o In the last half of their 20s, cohorts with high unemployment rates during the teenage years show the lower unemployment rates characteristic of the adult employment years. While this does not imply that unemployment during the ages of 16-24 years is inconsequential, it does imply that high rates of unemployment during the young adult years (16-24) do not presage a cohort life history of high unemployment.

Summary

Career educationalists define high rates of youth unemployment as a central problem. The rates are high relative to adult rates. However, the evidence suggests that the difference in adult and youth rates is importantly attributable to high proportions of youth entries and re-entries into the labor force. Disproportionately large youth cohorts are making the usual first market entries and increasingly tend to enter and re-enter the labor market several times during the teenage years. The higher proportion of first entries and re-entries and the smaller proportion of teenage unemployed who are involved in long-term unemployment both imply that the difference in adult and youth rates is primarily attributable to the job search time normally associated with a decision to enter the labor market.

Implications for Career Education and Councils

The evidence does not suggest a major malfunction in the school-work transition for youth in general. It does suggest the need for programs which reduce frictional unemployment, i.e., programs that reduce the length of job queues directly or by increasing information about available jobs. The market information problem implies the need for effective job listing and job placement mechanisms.[1] Community councils would seem suitable for collecting information on jobs (part-time/full-time, temporary/permanent) available within the community. For young people in school, placing the individual in jobs located by the councils should be done in the place they frequent--the school itself. Data from the National Longitudinal Study of 1972 indicate that students would be receptive to job placement by schools: over 75% of the sample agreed that schools should help students find jobs when they leave school. For youth out of school, councils should survey job placement mechanisms in the community to determine if these youth have easy access to job listings.

Listings of jobs within the community are useful for young people who must or are willing to stay within the community. However, of those in the 1972 high school class who intended to work full-time in the year following graduation, a fifth preferred to obtain a job out of the community; a quarter were willing to move to obtain a job (National Longitudinal Study, 1975). For these individuals and for communities in which local employment opportunities are very limited, state or regional job listings would be helpful. While a community council might be a mechanism through which such listings could funnel, it is not in a position to compile such listings.

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[1] Graduates of the vocational curriculum have lower initial employment rates than graduates of other curricula in part because they are more apt to be working at a job prior to graduation and move into this job full-time at graduation. Of those in the 1972 high school senior class (National Longitudinal Study, 1975) who intended to work full-time or part-time in the year following graduation, about half (49% and 46% respectively) had no job lined up by the spring of their graduation year. For those in this group who would like to make a smooth school-work transition--and not all students do--a robust job listing-job placement mechanism which operates during the school year should be helpful.

School calendars are directly relevant to the length of queue. Summer vacations and graduation times occur simultaneously for all students within a school and very closely in time for all schools across the nation. This practice dumps large numbers of teenagers on the labor market simultaneously. The peaks of the teenage unemployment rates coincide with scheduled school exits. Almost certainly some of this increase is created by the school calendar. If this is the case, school calendars prolong the search time for the average student and prevent some students from obtaining any full-time, short-term employment before school resumes.

It is not known how much teenage employment would be affected by varying school exit and re-entry times across the year because we do not know how much labor supply and demand would be affected by different calendars. Since changes in seasonal entries to and exits from school will affect teacher, facility, and family schedules and might affect the cost of education and businesses geared to current school calendars,[1] market surveys of employer demand and student labor supply under different conditions should precede changes in school schedules. Since communities differ in their industrial base and consequently in the extent to which they can and do use student labor, community education-work councils are uniquely suited to conduct such surveys and to debate the effects of changing calendars.

ASSUMPTION: Inadequate Work Socialization of Youth Increase Youth Unemployment

We have concluded that the high unemployment rates for youth in general do not indicate any major malfunction in the school-work transition for youth in general. However, the analysis of these rates was not nearly precise enough to eliminate the possibility that smaller failures in the socialization of youth to work are contributing to the unemployment rate. It is also the case that there could be disturbing failures in work socialization which do not show up in unemployment rates. For these reasons we try to estimate the extent to which assumptions about socialization failures might be true.

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[1] Certain industries may depend on the volume of consumers produced by simultaneous school closings to make a profit.

In psychology, intentional human action is considered a function of what the person wants, knows about, and knows how to do. The career education literature specifies socialization failures for youth at each of these points: diminished work ethic (wants), inadequate labor market information (knows about), and inadequate job skills (knows how). We question each of these points separately.

ASSUMPTION: There Is a Decline in the Work Ethic

The career education literature does not specify where the presumed decline in work ethic can be observed except in youth unemployment rates (e.g., Hoyt et.al., 1972). If we define "work ethic" as a positive value placed on work, with little concern for its conditions, a decline in the work ethic among the young should manifest itself as decreased labor force participation rates (or increased non-participation in the labor force); in preferences for unemployment over certain kinds of jobs available to the individual; and in increasing rates of absenteeism for youth workers.

Labor force participation rates. From 1947-1973, the labor force participaton rates have been relatively constant for 16-17 and 20-24 year old males. The rates for 18-19 year old males have been inversely related to their rates of college enrollments. Female labor force participation rates have increased steadily for all three age groups from 1947-1973. In general, trends in labor force participation rates are more consistent with an increase, not a decrease, in the "work ethic."

Preference for unemployment over work. There are no systematic data on youth preferences for unemployment over certain kinds of work, although we do know that youth on unemployment insurance exercise their prerogative to reject jobs beneath their qualifications (Employment and Training Administration, personal communication).[1] Thus, we can assume that at least some youth prefer unemployment over certain kinds of work. The following evidence is relevant to interpreting this finding.

o Recent survey questions indicate positive youth attitudes toward work per se. Of the high school graduating class of 1972, 85%
85%

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[1] The Bureau of Labor Statistics is conducting a special survey to obtain more information on the jobseeking process. Each unemployed worker in the CPS sample will be questioned concerning the intensity and frequency of efforts made to find work, about how many job offers were refused and how suitable those offers were. A report onthe findings is planned for late this year or early 1977 (Shiskin and Stein, 1976, p. 9).

of respondents selected "being successful in my line of work" as very important. This item was chosen by more respondents as being important in their lives than any other of ten items. The choices included such items as finding the right person to marry and having a happy family life, having strong friendships, and making lots of money (National Longitudinal Study, 1975).

In his comparison of college and non-college youth in 1969 and 1973, Yankelovich (1974) notes:

> Young working people, regardless of the nature of their work, say they are ready to work hard. They definitely are not looking for work that is not demanding. They do not shirk from physically hard work, and they are not worried about being asked to do more than they now do . . . (By 1973) both college and noncollege youth continue to reject, at 1969 levels, the idea of less emphasis on working hard (pp. 30-31).

o Basic youth values and behaviors are generally consistent with those adults (e.g., Timpane et al., 1976). Relative to earlier decades of this century, adults are less willing to take any job, if only because of the economic cushions of social security, pension systems, unemployment compensation, workman's compensation and welfare. The conditions for receiving unemployment insurance indicate the extent to which this has become socially acceptable behavior: an individual is required to look for work while on unemployment payments, but not required to take a job beneath his or her capacities and training. The data indicate that adults on unemployment insurance exercise their right to turn down jobs.[1] Thus, to the extent that youth prefer unemployment to certain kinds of work, these choices have their counterparts in adult choices.

o The career education literature is concerned by what is perceived as a lack of respect for certain kinds of work. To the extent that preferences for unemployment over certain kinds of jobs are a function of a lack of respect of certain jobs. it is again important to ask about adult respect for these jobs. Prestige ratings of 90 occupations by national samples of Americans show remarkable stability across time (1947, 1963, and 1974)[2] and across subgroups of adult society (Hodge et al., 1963). Table 1 shows the results for the 1947 data.

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[1] Table 15A, Unemployment Insurance Statistics, July-August 1976.

[2] Score for occupations in 1947 and 1963 had a 0.99 correlation (Hodge et al., 1965).

Table 1

PRESTIGE RATINGS OF OCCUPATIONS

Classification	Average Score
Government officials (e.g., Supreme Court justice, Cabinet member)	90.8
Professional and semi-professional workers	80.6
Proprietors, managers, and officials (except farm)	74.9
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	68.2
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	68.0
Farmers and farm managers	61.3
Protective service workers	58.0
Farm Laborers	52.8
Service workers (except domestic and protective)	50.0
Laborers (except farm workers)	46.7

SOURCE: Paul K. Hatt and C. C. North, "Prestige Ratings of Occupations," in Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form, ed., Man, Work, and Society, Basic Books, New York, 1962.

Adults clearly accord substantially different amounts of prestige to different occupations.

Let us look now at youth occupational preferences. In the first survey of the graduating high school class of 1972, the National Longitudinal Study asked this question: "Which of the following occupational categories best describes the work that you would like to do?" Respondents could choose from fourteen major occupational categories ("government officials" was not a separate category). Four occupations accounted for three-quarters (74%) of their choices:

Table 2

FOUR MOST FREQUENT OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES OF THE 1972 HIGH SCHOOL CLASS

Occupational Category	Percent
Professional, such as accountant, artist, clergyman, dentist, physician, registered nurse, engineer, lawyer, librarian, teacher, writer, scientist, social worker, actor, actress	45%
Clerical, such as bank teller, bookkeeper, secretary, typist, mail carrier, ticket agent	15%
Craftsman, such as baker, automobile mechanic, machinist, painter, plumber, telephone installer, carpenter	8%
Technical, such as draftsman, medical or dental technician, computer programmer	7%

SOURCE: William B. Fetters, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972: Student Questionnaire and Test Results by Sex, High School Program, Ethnic Category, and Father's Education, National Center for Education Statistics, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1975.

Table 2 shows that youth's personal occupational preferences are overwhelmingly consistent with the occupational prestige ordering in the adult culture. We can reasonably assume that youth's differential occupational preferences reflect differential respect for occupations and that the source of this differential respect is a highly stable rank ordering within the general culture.

o Most of the occupations in which the majority of youth work are those whose workers are most dissatisfied. Freedman (1976) calculated an index of inequality of occupational participation by age for 1970.

Table 3

FOR OCCUPATIONS, INDEX OF INEQUALITY BY AGE, 1970

Occupation	Index[a]
Professionals	77
Semi-professionals and technicians	32
Managers	22
Office clericals	113
Non-office clericals	179
Sales workers	165
Craftsmen	65
Operatives	95
Laborers	206
Service workers	144

SOURCE: Marcia Freedman, "The Youth Labor Market," in National Commission for Manpower Policy, From School to Work: Improving the Transition, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1976, p. 26.

[a] The percentage of employed who were < 25 in a particular sector divided by the percentage of employed who were ≥ 25 in that sector.

As Table 3 shows, youth are disproportionately represented in the clerical, sales, laborer and service categories. When we look at the 1972-73 Quality of Employment Survey data on mean job satisfaction by occupation and age, three of the four occupations rated as least satisfying are ones in which youth are disproportionately concentrated (see Table 4).

Table 4

MEAN JOB SATISFACTION BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND AGE

Occupational Group[1]	Mean Job Satisfaction[2]		
	Overall	16-24 Years Old[3]	≥ 25 Years Old[3]
Professional and technical (N = 323)	25	-10 (30)	30 (196)
Managers, officials, and proprietors (N = 319)	19	-14 (12)	23 (221)
Sales (N = 112)	11	-21 (7)	11 (67)
Craftsmen and Foremen (N = 270)	8	-11 (35)	15 (190)
Service workers, except private household (N = 238)	-11	-25 (30)	- 1 (122)
Clerical (N = 364)	-14	-40 (56)	7 (158)
Operators, except transport (N = 198)	-44	-78 (46)	-34 (152)
Transport operatives (N = 56)	4	-34 (10)	12 (46)
Nonfarm laborers (N = 72)	-42	-54 (19)	-20 (34)

SOURCE: Robert P. Quinn and Linda J. Shepard, The 1972-73 Quality of Employment Survey, The University of Michigan, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1974.

[1] The following categories have been omitted due to small numbers of cases: Farmers and farm managers, farm laborers, and private household workers.

[2] Mean values are based on a 28-question measure of overall job satisfaction. A higher numeric score indicates greater job satisfaction. The mean of this measure in 1973 was -2; its standard deviation was 84.

[3] The breakdown of satisfaction by age was run for us by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan for this paper.

Thus, youth are more apt to be in jobs which are less apt to be preferred over unemployment if there are economic alternatives.[1] The sense of a decline in the work ethic may come from the sense that youth prefer unemployment over certain jobs more frequently than adults or more frequently than youth in earlier decades. In either case, this may be less a decline in the work ethic than the effect of increasing economic alternatives for a group disproportionately concentrated in jobs least apt to be preferred to those alternatives.

In sum, to the extent that youth prefer unemployment over certain jobs, they seem to be behaving in individually rational and culturally acceptable ways. Affecting this behavior would seem to require either increasing the attractiveness of certain jobs or reducing (or removing) the economic cushions which make unemployment more attractive than certain jobs. Both require leverage which career education programs, regardless of administrative auspices, are not apt to have.

Absenteeism rates. The final basis for assessing the work ethic proposition is youth absenteeism rates, preferably for youth over time and relative to adult workers. Unfortunately, we do not have trend data on youth absenteeism. There are cross-sectional data on absenteeism of young versus older workers. The 1972-73 Quality of Employment Survey asked respondents who had missed any scheduled work within the two weeks prior to the interview: "How many of these days (in the last two weeks) did you miss just because you didn't feel like going to work that day?" Table 6 shows that except for youth in operator jobs, there was no significant difference between young and older workers in the amount of time missed because the worker did not feel like working.

Pursuing a similar concern, in 1975 the National Commission for Manpower Policy asked three major private-sector employers--one each from the retail trade, utility, and manufacturing sectors--to report in detail on their experiences with young workers (National Commission for Manpower Policy, 1976). Although the manufacturing

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[1] Responses to a Yankelovich 1973 survey of American Youth 16-24 years of age are consistent with this argument. Respondents were asked whether or not they would work even if they had enough money to live comfortably. Of three occupational categories, blue-collar, white-collar, and professional/executive/managerial, 27%, 29%, and 18%, respectively, siad they would not work. In other words, given an economic cushion youth are more apt to forego work in those occupational categories in which they are over-represented.

Table 5

MEAN NUMBER OF DAYS WORKERS MISSED IN PRIOR TWO WEEKS
BECAUSE WORKER DID NOT FEEL LIKE WORKING, BY AGE AND OCCUPATION[a]

Occupation	16-24 Years Old		≥ 25 Years Old	
Professional and technical (N = 226)	0.10	(30)	0.03	(196)
Managers, officials, and propreitors (N = 233)	0.00	(12)	0.01	(221)
Sales (N = 74)	0.00	(7)	0.06	(67)
Craftsmen and Foremen (N = 224)	0.09	(35)	0.05	(189)
Service workers, except private household (N = 152)	0.03	(30)	0.09	(122)
Clerical (N = 214)	0.05	(56)	0.05	(158)
Operators, except transport (N = 199)	0.15[b]	(46)	0.01[b]	(153)
Transport operatives (N = 56)	0.10	(10)	0.33	(46)
Nonfarm laborers (N = 53)	0.05	(19)	0.03	(34)

SOURCE: Robert P. Quinn and Linda J. Shepard, The 1972-73 Quality of Employment Survey. The University of Michigan, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1974.

[a] These data were run for this paper by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan.

[b] Difference between young and adult workers significant at $p<0.01$.

company did not keep absenteeism rates by age, an informal survey of operations personnel managers indicated that absenteeism rates were higher for young workers in the hourly group. The utility company also did not have absenteeism rates by age. Absence from work was more frequent for newer than long-term employees, but the company felt the data did not establish an age-absenteeism correlation. The retail company found no difference in absenteeism for adult and young workers. In sum, there is no clear absenteeism pattern for these three companies.

Even if we assume that youth have higher absenteeism rates than older workers, there are alternative interpretations of any such relationship. Absenteeism is positively correlated with job dissatisfaction (Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend?, 1974). As Tables 3 and 4 showed, youth are concentrated in the occupations least satisfying to both adult and youth workers. Thus, if we observe higher rates of absenteeism for youth than for older workers without controlling for occupation, the difference can be attributed to disproportionate concentrations in less satisfying jobs rather than a decline in the work ethic. If this is the case, as the cohort ages and moves into more satisfying jobs, the difference should disappear. Any initial difference is then not necessarily interpretable as a general decline in the work ethic. It can be seen as a preference for not working in certain kinds of jobs. Trend data for young workers would be necessary to discriminate between these alternative interpretations.

Summary of evidence. We have reviewed labor force participation rates, preferences for unemployment over certain kinds of jobs, and absenteeism rates for evidence of a decline in the work ethic for youth. The data do not indicate a decline for labor force participation rates; may indicate a change for the society in general in the value placed on less desirable jobs, relative to unemployment; and are indeterminate with regard to absenteeism rates. There is no evidence that youth are not interested in work per se. There is evidence that, like their elders, they prefer some kinds of work over others. Although these preferences can be interpreted as a decline in work ethic, it seems more plausible to assume that an occupational preference structure of some variety has always existed. The introduction of economic cushions over the last 40 years simply allows us to observe it by introducing viable alternatives to undersirable jobs.

Implications for career education and councils. As indicated above, what some career educationalists see as a decline in the work ethic, we interpret as increasingly revealed preferences of youth--and adults--for unemployment or non-participation over certain kinds of jobs. To the extent that these preferences are defined as a problem, the basic solutions lie outside of the scope of career education and councils: change the attractiveness of certain jobs[1] or the costs of not taking them.

ASSUMPTION: Youth Do Not Have Enough Labor Market Information

The second set of assumptions about youth's inadequate socialization to work consists of assumptions about youth's labor market knowledge. Parnes (1975) distinguishes four kinds of labor market information which encompass the concerns of the career education literature: (1) general labor market information, or information about career alternatives; (2) specific labor market information, or information about alternative employers; (3) information on effective ways to search and apply for a job; and (4) information on employer's behavioral expectations of employees.

Empirical evidence. Youth in general lack information about career alternatives, desire more information, and vary in amount of information according to socio-economic status, race, urban versus rural residence, age, sex, and IQ (Datta, 1975; Parnes, 1975).

Our analysis of youth unemployment rates indicates that a sizable proportion of these rates are a function of frictional unemployment. Frictional unemployment is assumed to arise from imperfect information about alternative jobs. Thus, some proportion of the youth unemployment rate seems attributable to lack of information about alternative employers.

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[1] Career education almost certainly cannot change the prestige rank ordering of occupations in the culture. However, it may be possible to raise the "prestige floor" of some low prestige occupations by providing information about their social utility, salaries, and other benefits. For example, although the 1947 and 1963 NORC occupational rank orders were highly correlated, there was a net upward shift in prestige for blue-collar jobs. For example, "garbage collector" was ranked eighty-eighth out of 90 in both 1947 and 1963. It would be easy to show the social utility of garbage collection by showing its relation through history to community health. Since occupational prestige is related to public perceptions of the economic returns to an occupation, information on garbagemen's salaries and benefits in major cities should increase the prestige, if not its relative position, among occupations. Community councils do not seem particularly necessary for this kind of career education.

There is some evidence that youth lack knowledge about job search and application procedures (National Assessment of Educational Progress, cited in Tyler, 1976).

We have no data which shows youth's knowledge of employer expectations for employee behavior. There are data on employers' perceptions of differences between young and older workers in their job behaviors from the three-industry survey conducted for the National Manpower Commission (1976). The utility company found no noticeable differences between young and mature workers, but the manufacturing company supervisors felt that young workers had more trouble accepting authority and the regimentation of factory life. They saw them as less likely to follow instructions and to work overtime and more likely to get into fights and to ignore work rules. The retail company survey of managers found differences between mature and young workers in responsibility, following through, attitude toward the job, concern for productivity, and quality of work. Youth were perceived as superior to mature workers only in ability to get along with others and in skill with machines. These differences in adult and young workers look like instances of the "diverting" behaviors discussed in the section on adolescent and young adult developmental stages.[1] As such, they may indicate, not adult-youth differences in knowledge about employer behavioral expectations, but differences--probably sporadic--in motivations, i.e., what some youth want. These industry data are only fragments, but they raise the possibility that lack of knowledge may account less for "unsocialized" work behavior than adolescent psycho-social processes of growing up. To the extent that this is the case, information per se will not necessarily affect the behaviors.

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[1] Other bits of evidence are consistent with this interpretation. The utility company reported no noticeable behavioral differences between young and adult workers. Their youth new hires were also 84% female. The manufacturing company reported differences. However, they also commented that although youth generally did not exhibit such behavior during their initial weeks of employment, they seemed generally influenced by peers (National Commission for Manpower Policy, 1976, p. 51). Of these youth new hires, 80% were males. These differences in observed behaviors by sex are consistent with empirical data on differences in the ways male and female adolescents work out adolescent identity problems, e.g., differences in the role ofthe peer group (Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Timpane et al., 1976). Of course, they may only indicate that employers have different expectations for female than for male employees.

Summary of evidence. More or less systematic evidence indicates that youth lack and want information about career alternatives and job search and application procedures. The discussion of youth unemployment rates earlier suggests that at least some of the frictional unemployment is attributable to lack of specific employer information. The evidence on knowledge of employer expectations is fragmentary and equivocal, but suggests that behaviors that may be interpreted as indicating lack of knowledge may in fact indicate motivations which affect the work orientation of some youth at some times.

Implications for career education and councils. With the possible exception of knowledge about employer expectations, the evidence indicates that youth need better labor market information, especially knowledge about alternative careers and alternative employers. Thus, there seem to be needs, and they are ones for which career education programs should have leverage.

If we assume that career education programs give youth more labor market information, the question is what kinds of differences an evaluation of effects should expect. More in-depth information about alternative careers, including projected supply and demand, should give the individual more chances to reconcile his abilities, career preferences, and labor market constraints and opportunities, assuming that he is able to identify his abilities and preferences and willing to accept the socio-economic levels of the occupations implied by these different kinds of information.[1] If we can make these assumptions, we would expect informational programs on alternative careers to:

- o change the occupational distribution of youth at least by sex and race, but not change the occupational distribution for youth in aggregate; and
- o increase job satisfaction for youth in aggregation, consequently reducing job turnover[2] and unemployment rates[3] for youth in aggregate.

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[1] More in-depth information about alternative careers could increase the dissatisfaction of youth who reject the present social and economic class structure.

[2] Less satisfied workers are more apt to change jobs (Roderick and Davis, 1973; Parnes et al., 1971; Mangione, 1973). At the same time, more labor market information reduces search costs for the individual. It consequently may take less dissatisfaction to produce job changing.

[3] Job-changing is strongly and positively related to unemployment (e.g., Parnes and Kohen, 1976).

The expected effect of information on career alternatives on wages and job prestige is less clear. The National Longitudinal Survey shows that inter-firm mobility is negatively related to wages and job prestige, but positively related to wage and job prestige gains (Parens and Kohen, 1976). In other words, inter-firm mobility improves wages and job prestige, but does not equalize the wage and prestige positions of job movers and stayers--in part, perhaps, because initial wage and prestige positions determine the size of wage and prestige increments, i.e., the process is probably Markovian. To the extent that movers change jobs because they desire higher wages and job prestige and took their initial jobs because of lack of information about the returns to alternative careers, information on career alternatives should improve the wage and prestige positions of these individuals by giving them the information to select preferred jobs at the time of initial choice. Other National Longitudinal Survey data indicate that the more a youth knows about the world of work, the higher his wages and occupational prestige. The analysis holds several variables constant, but not IQ. The extent to which this relationship is attributable to labor market information, IQ, or both is not clear, but Parnes and Kohen conclude from earlier work that probably both influences are operating. Tentatively, we can conclude that more information on career alternatives should affect wages and prestige for those young people who want jobs with higher wages and prestige.[1] In other words, we might expect it to affect the distribution of youth among jobs which vary in wages and prestige in part because such programs should equalize the informational grounds of the competition among those youth who want jobs with higher wages and prestige. However, we would not expect career information to affect aggregate measures of job wages and prestige.

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[1] While information on career alternatives may help the individual to identify what he wants from a job, it also helps him identify careers which meet his preferences. If money and prestige are not particularly valued, information on career alternatives will not affect wages and job prestige for these individuals. Certainly people want different things from jobs--for example, the National Longitudinal Study shows that twice as many respondents selected opportunities to be helpful to others or to society as a "very important" basis for career choice as selected chance to make a lot of money or having a position that is looked up to by others. At the same time, there is probably a "floor" on the wages and prestige desired, and many jobs youth obtain probably fall below the floor.

As indicated in the discussion of youth unemployment rates, we would expect programs which provide information on available jobs to reduce that part of the unemployment rate attributable to frictional unemployment. Information on effective methods of job search and application should have the same effects. For reasons given earlier, we are less clear that information on employer behavioral expectations will affect young workers' behaviors.

In sum, youth lack certain kinds of labor market information, and we can expect that programs which provide this information should redistribute youth among occupations and possibly among wages and prestige levels of jobs. They should affect aggregate measures of job satisfaction, turnover rates, unemployment rates, and length of unemployment. To the extent that labor market information affects individual outcomes, programs which reduce the variation in labor market information by socio-economic status, race, sex, and urban versus rural residence should affect the collective outcome of equality of opportunity.

Since schools are organized to convey systematic information, they are a possible institution in which to lodge labor market information programs. However, television would seem to be a more promising source for such programs. It is easy to visualize analogs to "Sesame Street" for information on career alternatives, the presentation of self aspects of job search, and employer expectations. There are already documented cases of youth running local television programs with job listings (Ferrin and Arbeiter, 1975).

Whatever the information source, different kinds of information should be introduced at different ages of the children. Information about available job search and application processes are most apt to be "learned" as young people can be hired for and are socially expected to seek jobs outside of those which arise within the family or neighborhood, e.g., at the time of the ninth or tenth grade. Younger children are more apt to internalize employer expectations, i.e., work norms, than older children. Information about career alternatives is basic to the child's social knowledge of the world and should be part of his education throughout the school years, whether through a social studies curriculum in school or television. However, what is introduced about careers should vary by age. Some careers, e.g., stock broker, physicist, state legislator, cannot be understood at even a simple level until the child has some grasp of a market economy, physical principles, and representative political systems. Similarly, certain characteristics of careers, e.g., pension plans, "perks" such as expense accounts, educational requirements such as "graduate school", have more meaning for older children.

If information programs are run within or from the schools, community councils could be necessary to their success. Their potential contribution to knowledge about specific jobs has already been discussed under youth unemployment rates. They could also be central to the success of programs on alternative careers. In general, teachers know only one category of occupation well--teaching, although they may know something about the occupations which use the subject matter they teach. Councils could put together--and some community groups have already done so (Ferrin and Arbeiter, 1975)--a group of "resource persons" from the community who are willing to show young people what different careers involve. If employers differ by community in how they obtain workers, councils are uniquely placed to survey local employers to determine the most direct routes to employment.

ASSUMPTION: Youth Unemployment Is High Because Youth Have the Wrong Work Skills

We treat two assumptions which appear in the career education literature together here. Some authors (e.g., Hoyt et al., 1972) identify youth's lack of skills as a contributor to the high unemployment rates. Others (e.g., Wirtz, 1975) identify a mismatch between skill demand and supply as a contributor. Since lack of skills is simply one type of mismatch, we evaluate the skills question in terms of mismatches.

Let us define a "mismatch" as any one of these three situations: (1) a young person is trained for jobs that do not exist and not trained for ones that do exist which require training; (2) a young person is trained for jobs that do not exist, and jobs which require no training do exist; and (3) a young person is not trained for any jobs, and only jobs which require training exist. We have no credible estimate of the incidence of each of these different types of mismatch. However, we can marshal fragments of evidence which allow us to raise questions about the problem. The empirical evidence is discussed separately for the supply of and demand for skills.

Empirical evidence: supply of skills. Certainly we know that mismatches of both types 1 and 2 occur.

o The first follow-up survey of the National Longitudinal Study asked the total sample: "While you were in high school, did you receive any special training intended to prepare you for immediate employment upon leaving school? (For example, auto mechanics, secretarial skills, or nurse's aid.)" Those who answered "yes" to this question were then asked specific questions about their experiences when they looked for work in the specialized area. Of this group, 35.5% stated that they could not find job openings in the areas for which they trained. It is not known whether the jobs did not exist or the applicants did not know how to find them. The former explanation implies a career education response of different or less training, depending upon what training available jobs require. The latter explanation implies a response of better job placement services and more labor market information for the applicants.

o Evaluations of vocational education programs (e.g., Somers, 1971; Reubens, 1974) show that approximately half of the high school, a quarter of the junior college, and a fifth of the post-high school vocational graduates obtained jobs unrelated or only slightly related to their field of training. However, some of these training-job discontinuities almost certainly did not represent either type 1 or type 2 mismatches. In the National Longitudinal Study first year follow-up of the high school class, 64% of the females and 53% of the males who took specialized training in high school got jobs in which they expected to use their training. Of those who did not obtain such jobs, 25.3% changed their work preferences and 9.5% were offered jobs in their field of training and declined them.[1] These results suggest limits on the extent to which skill demand and supply can be aligned, and suggest that skills obtained in high school do not buy students enough of an edge in the labor market to prevent them from changing occupations. This last point may indicate either that occupational training during the high school years should be enriched or that the jobs for which high school graduates qualify have "shallow" skill requirements.

We also know that type 3 mismatches (not enough skills) occur.

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[1] U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Longitudinal Study: Base Year: First and Second Year Data File User's Manual, National Center for Educational Statistics, July 1976.

o Of those who answered "yes" to the National Longitudinal Study question about high school employment training (see above), a minimum of a fifth found that they did not have enough skills to obtain work in the area of their training.[1]

o With regard to type 3 mismatches in general, we know that the unemployment rates are higher for groups that are expected to have fewer skills, e.g., high school dropouts and minority youth,[2] and lower for those expected to have more skills, e.g., occupationally trained high school graduates.[3] However, it is unclear to what extent these unemployment differences are attributable to other than differences in occupational training. The differences could be attributable to the characteristics of enrollees in training programs (e.g., more goal-oriented, higher basic verbal and computational skills), to auxiliary services associated with the programs--especially job placement, or to employers' use of academic and occupational education as a screen for hiring into jobs which do not require that education. To the extent that these variables account for differences, labor market information programs which involve less directed youth in career alternatives and choices, increased verbal and computational training, and intensified job placement programs may have more effect on reducing the unemployment rates of this group than more job skills.

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[1] Of the group who looked for work in their area of training, 19.3% said employers told them that they were not qualified; 6.4%, that they did not know how to use the equipment or tools of the job; and 13.3% that they did not have the coursework or knowledge required of the job. Since a single respondent could have checked one or all of these outcomes, we can only assume that at least 19.3% did not have enough skills to obtain employment in their area of training.

[2] Tables A-16 and B-8, Manpower Report of the President, 1974

[3] Several sources have found that occupationally trained high school graduates frequently have fewer and shorter periods of unemployment (e.g., Manpower Report of the President, 1970; Somers and Little, 1971; Evans et al., 1969; Stromsdorfer, 1972). However, it should also be recalled that analyses of data from the National Longitudinal Survey of young men for 1966 showed that while high school vocational graduates had lower unemployment rates than general education graduates, there was no difference in unemployment rates between graduates of vocational and academic or commercial programs (Parnes et al., 1969 and 1971).

Empirical evidence: demand for skills. Another way of trying to estimate the incidence of different types of mismatches is to ask about the demand for skills. Several points are relevant.

o In connection with the National Assessment of Educational Progress project on career and occupational development, the Bureau of Labor Statistics developed a list of the 50 most common jobs obtained by persons with less than a college education. A conference of persons from the Employment Service, high school vocational education teachers, and industry and business personnel directors chose 30 jobs from the list of 50 which are the major entry-level jobs for young people who do not go on to college. The list of 30 jobs did not include unskilled labor. It was estimated that approximately two-thirds of the jobs required academic skills and productive work habits, but very little specialized training. For most of those jobs that required training, it was estimated that the necessary training could be obtained in less than four weeks (Tyler, 1976).

o In analyzing the BLS series, *Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts*, Reubens (1974) consistently found that from 1959-1971 only a small proportion of male high school graduates had first jobs which could be classified as using their school-acquired skills. She also noted that only a maximum of 20% of their first jobs could be classified as requiring any vocational training at all.

o The Tyler and Reubens data can be interpreted in different ways. One explanation is that high school graduates do not have the skills which allow them to obtain jobs which require more training--because they consistently do not obtain skills, consistently obtain skills not in demand, or change their work preferences so that their training no longer matches what they want to do. Another explanation is that only a small proportion of jobs available to high school graduates require special training.

There are data which indicate that the second explanation accounts for more of the variance than the first. Freeman (1971) found that college males are educationally highly responsive to changes in skill demands. It is true that college males have more labor market information than non-college males (Tyler, 1976). However, it is reasonable to assume that if there were a pool of jobs waiting for more or different trained high school graduates, non-college males would have discovered and responded to this fact in some way over the period 1959-1971.[1]

- Another way of trying to discriminate between the alternative explanations of the Tyler and Reubens data is to estimate the proportion of jobs for which training is required or training can substitute for experience and for which training tends not to be provided by employers.[2] This set of jobs defines the upper limit on the amount of job skill training which inexperienced workers[3] require for successful competition in the labor market and which the educational system can efficiently provide. Knowing something about the size of this set provides half of the information we need (demand side) to estimate the size of type 2 and type 3 mismatches (too many skills and too few skills, respectively). It will not halp us estimate type 1 mismatches (wrong skills).

Estimating the size of this set proved to be very difficult.[4]

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[1] An analysis of labor supply and demand for the electronics data processing occupations showed that:

- supply for trained labor increased markedly between 1968 and 1971 in response to a rapid growth in demand for the skills;
- by 1971, if there was any market failure for these occupations; it involved over-supply rather than under-supply of trained labor (Haber and Goldfarb, 1976).

[2] For example, secretarial jobs are usually filled by individuals who bring the required skills with them. However, telephone installer and repair jobs tend to be filled by individuals trained by the Bell System.

[3] We define an inexperienced worker as an individual with minimum job experience. Under this definition, a person can have substantial formal training and still be considered an inexperienced worker, e.g., a recent graduate of medical school.

[4] Several Rand economists and individuals within the Department of Labor were consulted in efforts to find directly relevant data.

In the absence of directly relevant data, we used the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (Third Edition, 1966) and the 1974 national employment figures for the detailed list of occupations (Bureau of Labor Statistics). To estimate the size of the set, we had to make a number of simplifying assumptions. Data problems, the nature of these assumptions, and the sizes of the different subjects which entered into the final estimate are described in Appendix A.

The final estimate was based on estimates of:

- the set of jobs available to inexperienced workers, trained or untrained;
- the subset of available jobs which require no prior training;
- the subset of available jobs which require training traditionally supplied by the worker;
- the subset of available jobs which require training traditionally supplied by the employer;
- the subset of available jobs which require training, but for which the source of training (employer or worker) is unclear.

The size of the last subset substantially expanded the range for the final estimate. The result of this exercise was the following: the educational system can efficiently provide occupational training for a range of 1/4 to 2/3 of the jobs available to inexperienced workers.

Summary of evidence. This discussion of job skills indicates that: (1) mismatches of all three kind occur; (2) the national and community incidence of each type is not known; and (3) the proportion of apparent skills mismatches which are in fact a function of youth preferences (of changes in preferences), weak basic skills, or bad job placement is not known.

Implications for career education and councils. Any national policy on occupational training should be based on more information than we now have.

In the absence of more information, it seems that projections of manpower needs in community, state, and national markets would be helpful especially for occupations which require lengthy and expensive training (e.g., the law, college teaching). Community councils seem a suitable group for constructing projections for local labor markets; state governments, for jobs in industries concentrated in the state.

Since occupations with national markets tend to have professional associations, projections for these occupations may be most accurately constructed by these associations. Data on what happens to these projections in the schools indicate that evaluations for any community council attempts to improve skill supply-demand matches from the supply side (schools) should include implementation variables.[1]

A national policy of encouraging more occupational training for youth in general should not be undertaken without more evidence of skill "shortfall." To what extent is any apparent shortfall specific to certain groups? A function of weak job placement? A function of low basic skills? If there is no such general need, encouraging the educational system to provide it runs several dangers. It represents an inefficient allocation of resources; it sets up false expectations for youth; it encourages employers to use prior occupational training as a hiring screen for jobs which do not require training. There is accumulating evidence that all of these things are happening in higher education (e.g., Freeman, 1975; O'Toole, 1975a and 1975b). The use of training as a hiring screen is of particular concern. While it may be rational for youth as individuals to take advantage of employer credentialing practices, it is not necessarily a collective good. More training is apt to be obtained by those with more labor market information, i.e., by the non-poor and non-minority (Tyler, 1976), thus sustaining current employment and income inequalities. Occupational training in public educational institutions is also expensive for the taxpayer. If employers use it as a proxy for good work habits, it would be a more efficient use of resources to socialize all youth to employer expectations through other means--not through expensive skill training which is not necessary for many of the jobs available to youth.

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[1] Certain states (e.g., California, Ohio, New Jersey) and their communities are already trying to improve manpower projections and statements of training requirements and to communicate these to appropriate educators (Ferrin and Arbeiter, 1975). However, as Ferrin and Arbeiter observe, none of the four states examined had worked out satisfactory ways to convey manpower supply and demand data to school faculties, curricula specialists, counselors, or administrators. They also found that the information supplied to schools on occupational requirements did not result in changes in school programs and probably would have to be accompanied by explanations of what the requirements imply for program design.

Before dollars are invested in more or different training for youth, communities and states should assess whether youth are leaving the local and state educational systems with too few, too many, or the wrong kinds of skills. Again, at the community level, community councils would be well situated to conduct such surveys.

Conclusions for Youth in General:

On the basis of the evidence considered and for youth in general, we have reached these conclusions about the career education assumptions of Figure 2. We see the high rates of youth unemployment to be more a function or frictional unemployment than of major failures in the socialization of youth. We see evidence that school seasonal calendars exacerbate the frictional unemployment problem, but it is not clear that varying calendars will substantially affect the problem. We do not see evidence of a declining work ethic in youth. We do see evidence of adult and youth preferences for unemployment over certain jobs as the result of economic alternatives to those jobs. We see a definite need for labor market information about career alternatives, specific employers, and methods of job search and application. We are less clear that youth need more information about employer behavioral expectations. Youth behaviors which violate these expectations may be more a function of what some youth want some of the time, rather than of what they know. We see evidence of skill supply and demand mismatches, but are unable to estimate to which they are in fact a function of youth preferences, weak basic skills, or bad job placement.

As a result of this analysis and for councils in genral, we conclude the following:

- o Some programs which councils might sponsor, coordinate or in which they might participate should affect outcomes of youth.

- o There is no necessary reason to expect effects from certain other programs unless community-level surveys indicate that there is room for change.

- o Implementation variables should be included in all evaluations of programs--failure can so easily be a function of how programs are implemented, not of the initial program concept. Including these variables is particularly important if the success of the program depends on several institutions. In this case the implementation "chain" is much longer and the probability of weak links much greater. Since councils are expected to co-ordinate and link community institutions, their programs are apt to involve long implementation chains. Including implementation variables in evaluations of council programs would therefore seem particularly important.

- Youth, councils, and communities do not exist "in general." Programs expected to affect youth in general will not necessarily affect youth in a particular community--room to change at the national, aggregate level does not logically imply room at the local level. Councils are uniquely placed to determine the nature of the school-work transition experiences for local youth. Their programs are more apt to be successful to the extent that they are based on assessments of the local situation, whether or not we would expect the program to affect youth in general. The program expected to affect youth in general thus just represent the first places that councils should look for problems at the local level.

The programs we expect to affect outcomes for youth in general are listed below. For each program we indicate what variables should change and for whom the change should occur.

o Information about alternative employers. We would expect job listing and placement programs to reduce that part of the local unemployment rate attributable to frictional unemployment. The effect should be for the aggregate of youth. Since these programs decrease the costs of job search, they may have two other effects. They may increase the labor force participation rates of those youth not in the labor market because of job search costs--probably students. They may also increase job turnover for those youth more apt to get less satisfying jobs.

o Information about career alternatives. We would expect these programs to affect youth knowledge about alternative careers, as measured by information tests. If the program recipients are from socio-economically diverse backgrounds, we would expect the program to raise the posttest mean scores and reduce their standard deviations.

We would also expect these programs to: (1) change the occupational distribution of youth by sex and race, but not the occupational distribution for youth in aggregate; and (2) increase job satisfaction for youth in aggregate, thus reducing job turnover and unemployment rates for youth in aggregate.

o Manpower projections for the local community. To the extent that training programs adapt to changes in the anticipated demand for skills, and these projects are available to youth who are making career choices, we would expect a reduction in that part of the local unemployment rate attributable to frictional and structural unemployment. The effect should be for the aggregate of youth.

o Information on job search and application procedures. We would expect this program to have small distributional, not aggregate, effects on local youth unemployment rates. Rates should become more equal for demographically different categories of youth. This assumes that youth vary by demographic characteristics in their knowledge of job search and application techniques and that such a program would not enable youth to capture a larger share of the jobs.

In the absence of more information, we would not expect the following programs to have positive effects on youth outcomes.

o Changes in school calendars. We would expect a calendar change to reduce frictional unemployment and increase labor market participation rates for youth in aggregate only if estimates of local labor supply and demand indicate that a calendar change would have such as effect.

o Changes in skill training. We would expect changes in skill training to affect variables such as unemployment only if the changes are based on prior surveys of the incidence of different kinds of labor supply and demand mismatches.

COMMENTS ON SUBGROUPS OF YOUTH

This paper has addressed school-work assumptions for youth in general. However, some questions and assumptions are specific to identifiable subgroups. While this paper cannot evaluate these questions for these subgroups, we can identify the subgroups and major questions which we think should be assessed more carefully.

Subgroups

The subgroups are women, non-college-goers, high school drop-outs, and blacks. For women we see the major problem to be knowledge of career alternatives, including their economic payoffs. The social concern with female career choice derives from the increasingly apparent connection between: women's limited career aspirations and expectations, women's limited career choices, and the limited returns in economic security to those choices, particularly for single women and married women who move from secondary to primary wage earner by virtue of the unemployment or death of their spouses or divorce. Even as of 1970, women are substantially under-represented in seven of the eleven occupational categories used by the Bureau of the Census. They are substantially over-represented in the other four categories (Tsuchigane and Dodge, 1974). The social and personal implications of this occupational distribution become clear when we look at the increasing rate of female-headed households with children and the relationships between female-headed households with children and poverty. In 1974 there were four million female-headed families with children, an increase of 250 percent over 1950 ("Household and Family Characteristics," Current Population Reports, series P-20). The number of female-headed household with children grew by one million alone between 1970 and 1973. The growth in female-headed households is attributable primarily to divorce (Sawhill, 1976), an event which is predicted to occur for a third of young couples sometime during their lives (Glick and Norton, 1973). Sawhill (1976) shows that 20% of traditionally male occupations (80% or more of all workers male), 48% of mixed occupations (30% to 80% of all workers male), and 54% of traditionally female occupations (30% or less male) entail poverty-level wages ($3,000/year or less) for a high school graduate between the ages of 25-34. Thus, the majority of occupations in which women work do not allow a family to subsist above the poverty line. The same study reveals that when the female earnings function is used to predict earnings, half the women heading households with children who receive AFDC could not earn as much in the labor market as they are receiving on AFDC. Only a fourth could increase their income by as much as $1,000 by going to work full-time. However, if the male earnings function is used to predict earnings, only 17% are better off on welfare than from working. Slightly more than half could increase their income by $1,000 or more by entering the job market. In other words, particularly during times of high marital instability, the careers which women choose or to which they have access may entail substantial social and personal economic burdens.

In the case of non-college-goers, Barton (1975) points out that the occupational distribution of this group, particularly for males, is heavily weighted toward "teenage jobs" from the time of entry into the full-time labor force until age 21. In other words, this group is certified as prepared for adult life, but not admitted proportionately into adult jobs for about three years after high school graduation. While members of the group may prefer to "mill" around in the labor market for this period, Barton argues that individuals who prefer to enter adult jobs do not now have that option.

He attributes this fact to the combined effect of this group's inadequate work preparation and employers' non-rational preferences for youth over 21 years of age for adult jobs. He points out that if employers in fact are not hiring 19 year old high school graduates simply on the basis of age, it represents an instance of age discrimination remediable by legal action.

We have just two comments here. Case studies conducted for the National Commission for Manpower Policy of hiring practices in three corporations revealed the following:

o In 1972-1973, youth represented 35% of the manufacturing company new hires; in 1972-1975 youth averaged 45% of the utility company new hires; in 1972-1974 youth averaged 47% of the retail company new hires.

o The utility and retail companies reported new hires by age groups 16-17 years and 18-21 years. In the utility company, 95% of the new youth hires were 18-21; in the retail company, 75%.

o The substantial majority of new youth hires were hired into families of jobs in which there appeared to be clear and recognizable lines of progression.

o The substantial majority of new youth hires had the same access to training and employer-supported study as did new hires in the same positions.

These data are not clearly interpretable as a bias against hiring youth into adult jobs. The apparent contradictions among the data on this question may be a function of deciding whether a job is a "teenage job" or the bottom rung of adult jobs.

If the number and nature of jobs in the labor market are constant, legal action to obtain access for youth to better jobs will have the effect of displacing other workers to the less desirable jobs. Although it depends on which workers are displaced; this result may be socially less acceptable than the current situation.

In the case of high school drop-outs, we note two findings relevant to career education. Hill (no date) analyzed data from the National Longitudinal Survey of young men to determine predictors of dropping out. He found that knowledge of the world of work had the largest direct effect in reducing dropping out for non-whites. To the extent that dropping out is associated with negative downstream consequences for the individual (e.g., lower wages, unemployment, non-participation in the labor force), increasing labor market information may be useful for preventing dropping out. Hill also found that vocational education reduces dropping out for white youth and attracts those youth who are drop-out prone, as indicated by their family background and IQ.

In the case of blacks, the extremely high unemployment rate for both male and female blacks seems different in cause than the rates for youth in general (Anderson, no date). The problem deserves careful analysis to factor out the extent to which variables amenable to alternative career education programs in fact account for the observed rates.

We note a few points which might be kept in mind in such an analysis.

o To the extent that youth unemployment rates are a function of large 16-24 cohorts, these rates should decline for white youth by 1985 because of the projected decline in the size of the white 16-24 year old cohort. However, the size of the 16-24 year old black cohort is projected to increase over time, the number in the labor force being expected to increase from 2.6 million 16-24 year olds in 1974 to 3.3 million by 1985. Thus, black unemployment rates cannot be expected to decline as a function of smaller numbers in the labor force.

o The National Assessment of Educational Progress shows that about 20% of a national sample of 17-year-olds have not acquired basic reading, computational, and writing skills. These individuals come primarily from poor homes and live in inner cities or rural areas (Tyler, 1976). These data suggest that poor and urban or rural black youth need intensified training in basic skills, particularly to the extent that employers have an implicit literacy floor for hiring.

o The methods by which youth obtain work exacerbate the effects for black youth of industrial relocation from the cities to the suburhs. Of 16-24 year old workers, 34% said they obtained their current job through direct application; 30%, through friends and relatives (Rosenfeld, 1975). Since "direct application" implies physical appearance at the potential place of work, the geographical separation of black youths' residence and potential job sources reduces the chances of using this channel. Since friends and relatives of black youth are also apt to live in the city and face the same barriers to employment in the suburbs, they are less able to direct youth to jobs.

APPENDIX A

The Dictionary of Occupational Titles (Third Edition, 1966) estimates training requirements for occupations, although attempts to use these estimates have encountered anomalies in the data (e.g., Ekhaus, 1964; Scoville, 1966). For our purposes, the Dictionary has a more serious drawback. For those jobs which require training or for which training can substitute for experience, it does not indicate whether the employer or worker tends to provide the required training. However, by using the Dictionary and the national employment figures for the detailed list of occupations (Bureau of Labor Statistics), we can put together a crude sense of the range for the size of the training job set.

The first problem is to estimate the proportion of total jobs in the labor market available to inexperienced workers, regardless of training. We assume that jobs in the managerial occupational categories (both farm and non-farm) are not available to inexperienced workers, with or without training. Obviously, some inexperienced workers, e.g., individuals with MBA's, move directly into managerial slots. However, in general, these positions require an amount of on-the-job experience which young workers cannot yet have obtained. These categories represent 13% of the total jobs in the labor market. Obviously, there are jobs in other occupational categories which are not available to inexperienced workers. For example, an inexprienced worker with a law degree can become a lawyer, but is unlikely to become a senior partner in a law firm. Similarly, the craft and operator categories have many jobs available only on the basis of seniority, an age-related criterion which excludes inexperienced workers. However, we have no way of estimating what proportion of jobs in non-managerial categories are of this type. Thus, we are over-estimating the proportion of total jobs available to inexperienced workers.

Of the jobs assumed to be available to inexperienced workers, 34% would seem to require no prior training (80% of the sales workers; 50% of the clerical workers; 67% of the service workers; 100% of the laborers; and about 45% of the farmers and farm workers). Since we assumed that all the craft and operator occupations require training, this figure almost certainly under-estimates the percent of jobs that require no training.

Only 2% of available jobs clearly require training which is usually supplied by the employer (e.g., fireman, policeman, flight attendant).

About a quarter (26%) of the available jobs require training usually supplied by the worker (100% of the professional, Technical, and kindred; 45% of the clerical workers, 8% of the service workers).

About two-fifths of available jobs require anything from trivial to extensive periods of training (100% of the craftsmen; 100% of the operators; 20% of the sales workers; 4% of the clerical workers; and 13% of the service workers). However it is not clear who supplies the training for these jobs--worker or employee. Training for business-specific skills tend to be supplied by the employer; training for "transportable" skills, by the worker. However, it is difficult to use this criterion for estimating the proportion of craft and operator occupations with worker- versus employer-supplied training. Thus, the educational system can efficiently provide occupational training for a range of 1/4 to 2/3 of the jobs available to inexperienced workers.

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III. CRUCIAL ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY-EDUCATION WORK COUNCILS

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I. Introduction

Background

Since World War II, the nation has experienced mass migrations of both industries and people, the almost total mechanization of agriculture, dramatic technological changes in business and industry, the expansion of metropolitan areas (in which most of the people now live), ever-increasing centralization of major industries, and expansion in both the educational establishment and in educational opportunities. It is perhaps inevitable that in the face of such rapid change, the conditions upon which past relationships between schools and other institutions were based have disappeared, and that new means -- based on current conditions -- to improve the nexus between education and the larger community (especially between schools and the work sector) have been sought. The search has been conducted, with varying degrees of intensity, during the entire period of change, and has resulted in considerable activity from the local to national levels.

For example, it is estimated that more than 100,000 representatives of business and industry are presently members of formally organized vocational education advisory committees, additional thousands serve on Joint Apprenticeship Committees and as advisors to individual instructors of vocational education programs, and approximately 4.5 million employers and 40,000 national, regional and local business and industrial associations and labor groups are presently providing materials and voluntary services to the educational system.[1] A recent study indicates that of the 90,000 members of school boards, serving 15,780 educational jurisdictions throughout the nation, 59,400 (or about two out of three) are representatives of management.[2] Since 1943, the number of vocational education advisory councils and committees has increased ten-fold,[3] and since the 1960s, variously named planning advisory councils relating both to federally sponsored manpower programs and federally mandated educational programs have mushroomed by the thousands.

Despite this proliferation of mechanisms designed to improve communications between schools and the larger community (especially the work sector), the charge is still made -- indeed, is being made more forcefully than ever before -- that one of the major reasons youth have difficulties in making the transition from school to work and adults are inhibited from moving from work back into school is "isolation" of education from other institutions at the community level. Willard Wirtz best sums up the charge in the first paragraph of The Boundless Resource:

> "A good deal of American achievement traces in one way or another to the development of Education and Work as coordinate forces. They have, however, been distinctly separate developments controlled by independent sovereignties -- with the consequences that in most people's lives learning and earning pass as totally isolated chapters (emphasis added)."[4]

The same theme is reiterated almost daily by representatives of the higher echelons of government, education, labor, industry and other institutions. It would appear that there is an overwhelming consensus among the "isolated institutions" that they should in some way get together and end their isolation. Closer examination, reveals, however, that the consensus exists only in the generality that more substantial linkages are desirable; when the talk gets down to specifics, consensus generally breaks down. School boards and educators want help and advice, which they can either accept or ignore, but they are cool to the suggestion that educational policy and program decisions be shared with non-educators. Labor unions, although generally supportive of the public schools, often take a dim view of work education programs in areas of high unemployment, and balk at suggestions that the Fair Labor Standards Act and other similar state legislation be modified to permit increased employment of youth. Business and industry often appear to be promoting their own specialized interests -- the promotion of free enterprise and the preparation of students for jobs in the business and industrial complex -- to the exclusion of all other educational activities.

These are what Wirtz calls the areas of "tension," but as he notes: "...productive tension is probably an essential element in constructive change."[5] Nevertheless, the historical and current factors which contribute to tension should be understood if the alleged isolation of institutions is to be eased. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a detailed history of the relationships between education, industry, labor and other institutions, a brief summation of some of the major tensions which have existed throughout U.S. history, and still exist today, would lend clarity to the discussion which follows.

Industry-Education

Although industry's attempts to influence education were minor during the middle to latter parts of the 19th century, the amount of education most students received were limited by the labor demands of business and industry--which is another way of saying that industry actually did exert control. As Wirtz points out, "the education that was the subject of principle consideration in the mid-19th century was largely elementary learning, covering only those essentials that had to come in the beginning." The amount of education necessary was about 10 years, "which happened to coincide with the physiology of the strengthening of a boy's arm and back muscles and a girl's coming of child bearing age."[6]

Industry was a prime mover in the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 -- in fact, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce was one of its major champions -- but regardless of how necessary a national program of vocational education may have been (and still is), industry's motives in promoting the legislation were not altogether altruistic. The Act was directed primarily toward the children of immigrants and tenant farmers and sharecroppers in rural areas. Its purpose was to prepare boys for work in the nation's factories, mines, mills and farms, and girls -- through home economics courses -- for work as housekeepers, nurse-maids and cooks in other people's homes. It was only recently, for example, that blacks have been enrolled in vocational education programs other than agriculture and home economics.

Industry dominated Boards of Education in "company towns" were primarily interested in turning out disciplined young workers for the towns' mines, mills and factories.

Indeed, the liberal reformers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries worked actively to reduce industry's influence on education, and to a great extent they succeeded, thus possibly contributing to today's "isolation."

The uneasy relationship between industry and education continues today. Some educational commentators believe that industry controls the schools -- through overwhelming representation on boards of education, through domination of curricula as represented by production of textbooks and educational hardware, and through pressure on schools to prepare youth for jobs and careers in industry. According to Percy Krich:

> "...industry is a potential threat to education's leadership in preparing future citizens. 'Industry and Education' implies a relationship between them as equals. The real question is whether there is an equality relationship between them.... As an educator, I must determine true relationships by facing reality. One can 'develop attitudes' toward industry, but one must face the fact that industry (big business) has more control and impact on society than the schools. Through this impact, big business, in essence, controls the schools as well."[7]

Although most educators would not line up behind Krich, his statement does illustrate the wariness that characterizes education's attitudes toward industry participation in school affairs. The suspicion, however, is mutual. Industry, for its part, suspects that in many instances, educators are hostile to the free enterprise system, and that they pass this hostility on to their students.

Labor Unions

Organized labor has a long history of support of public education as well as involvement in vocational education. Some 500 members of the AFL-CIO serve on boards of education, and AFL-CIO publications occasionally carry articles encouraging members to participate in local and state public education matters and to support increased federal aid to all facets of public education. However, union support of education often is no more altruistic than that of other special interest groups, including employers. For example, a major activity of the AFL-CIO Education Department is to promote utilization of its texts and other literature dealing with the union movement in social studies, civics and history classes, and as more and more public school teachers become union members, it can be predicted that labor education materials in the schools will find greater acceptance. Furthermore, unions have taken a dim view of the expansion of work education programs, especially in areas of high unemployment, and where programs are initiated without being first cleared through union representatives. Finally, the elimination of child labor, and the establishment of the eight-hour day and forty-hour week were among the goals of the American labor movement for a century before they were established as norms by the wage and hour legislation of the 1930s.

It is, therefore, closely akin to sacrilege -- especially in a period of high unemployment -- to ask labor leaders to agree to a relaxation of these laws in order to increase employment opportunities for youth.

The Concept of "Youth"

The concept of what constitutes "youth" has changed in the United States over the years, and this change has brought about a new role of education. Joseph F. Dinneen, in his biography of James Michael Curley, the late perennial mayor of Boston, noted the following:

> "The age limit children must reach, before being freed of legal obligation to attend school, was not raised because ward or city bosses thought education was good for them. It was raised to solve a different problem. As the population increased, a labor shortage disappeared and a labor surplus was created. A time came when the ward bosses found it difficult to keep heads of families employed, let alone their children. When the pressure of hundreds of voting fathers for jobs for their children became disturbing, and in some ways frightening, political bosses seized upon compulsory education as an expedient. Keeping children in school until they reached the age of 16 would defer the problem of finding work for them until the bosses found a way to cope with the problem; and they hoped education might solve it by giving children enough training to find jobs for themselves."[8]

Thus, when the demand for younger workers decreased, education was assigned the task of keeping children out of the labor market, as well as preparing them for entry into it. Stephen P. Heyneman and William P. Daniels, summarizing an HEW workshop on youth research, which included participation by representatives of some of the most eminent juvenile research institutions in the United States, write: "The size of the class of individuals called 'youth' is directly and inversely proportional to their demand in the labor market: the more the demand, the less the number of youth; the more the demand, the less they can be spared, and the more pressure there is for them to enter economic roles identical with adults."[9] Since World War II, the years of "youth" have been extended at a rapid rate. In James Michael Curley's day, "youth" often ended at the end of the eighth grade; today it can extend up to 25 years of age and beyond. "With this first youth generation (the post-World War II generation) now well integrated into the highest reaches of our technocracy," Heyneman and Daniels report, "the age range of 'youth' keeps getting extended upward.

Perhaps it will ultimately be defined as interminable......If there is another general depression, then those who are considered youth will be coterminal with those who are considered adolescents....We don't simply observe youth as a category in the life cycle. We create it, just as we create many other social categories that we place ourselves in."[10] And, the proper place for youth, of course, is "in school."

Regardless how far upward the age range of youth has been extended, however, some students are still dropping out of school before they complete high school, high school graduates are entering the labor market at the age of 18, and students who continue on to postsecondary schools after graduating from high school nevertheless seek full-time and part-time jobs. The youth employment rate is the highest of any group in the labor force, and it is particularly high for blacks and other minorities. There also appears to be a gap for students who complete their schooling at age 18 or under and the age (generally 21) when they are accepted for employment in regular entry-level positions (jobs other than those that appear to be reserved specifically for youth). These factors, plus alleged restrictions which inhibit adults from seeking retraining or additional education, have led to a reexamination of the relationship between schools and other institutions in the nation's communities.

The opinion of many is that a polarization exists between institutions, and proposals have been put forward to alleviate this condition. In discussing these proposals, however, it is necessary to keep in mind the history of education in the United States and the special interests--whether they be of business and industry, labor, the family, the Church, and other segments of society, which have sought in the past (and have often succeeded) in influencing the education of American children. As for the educational establishment, it has often been charged that in recent years it has been transformed into a huge bureaucracy which is primarily interested in self-perpetuation. While there may be some truth in the charge, it is equally true that at one time in our history it was considered desirable for education to disassociate itself from the "special interests," and that a disproportionate share of the responsibility for solving some of our more pressing social problems (including the care of youth until the economy is able to absorb them into the labor force) has been assumed, or imposed on, the nation's system of public education. In her book, Counterpoint, Miriam Johnson criticizes the Employment Service, not for failing to accomplish the impossible, but for claiming that it could accomplish the impossible.[11] The same criticism could be made of the nation's educational system.

Perhaps, then, the pendulum has swung all the way back, and the time is ripe for our institutions to recognize their interdependence, and join together in solving the social problems which afflict the nation; however, if such joint efforts are to be successful, the agenda must move quickly from the general to the specific, and the action areas selected must be aimed at substantive, rather than peripheral, problems.

Community Work-Education Councils

One of the proposed solutions for breaking down the isolation between education and other institutions at the community level is the formation of community work-education councils, composed of educators, employers, local union representatives, and representatives of community organizations, or of the general public itself. The idea, as described in The Boundless Resource, is based on the following assumptions:

1. The difficulties that youth experience in making the transition from school to work, and that adults experience in moving from work and other adult roles back into education, are caused primarily by the isolation that exists between schools and other community institutions (especially business and industry).

2. The solution is "collaboration" between institutions at the community level.

The proposed councils would differ from existing advisory councils or committees in that the "process" would be collaborative rather than cooperative. Paul Barton defines the term "collaborative" as follows:

> "....the participation of the representatives of the important institutions and sectors of the community that have the responsibility, resources, and influence to deal with the whole of the transition to regular adult employment. It means an attempt to accomplish jointly what could not be achieved singly, and a whole that is larger than the sum of its parts."[12]

Thus, collaboration means the actual participation of council members in the "process" of narrowing the gap between school and work (and work and school), rather than the mere imparting of advice by non-educators to educators. Kenneth Hoyt goes farther than Barton in defining collaboration:

> "Collaboration is a term that implies the parties involved share responsibility and authority for basic policy decision making....Cooperation, on the other hand, is a term that assumes two or more parties, each

> with separate and autonomous programs, agree to work together in making all such programs more successful. To "cooperate" with another agency or organization carries no implication that one either can, or should, affect its policies or operational practices."[13]

Hoyt's definition implies that for true "collaboration" to take place, educators would have to share at least some of their policy making and operational responsibilities with other sectors of the community, and that other community institutions and organizations would have to assume new responsibilities.

The suggested activities of the proposed Community-Work Education Councils, as broadly outlined by Barton, are as follows:

1. Programs or action to bring about the integration of experience with education;
2. Counseling assistance drawing broadly on community resources;
3. Placement assistance and follow-up;
4. Information for career choice;
5. Systematic exposure of counselors and teachers to the nature of work;
6. Reduction of barriers that may exist that impede the transition from school to work and from work to school;
7. Attitude formation of students to work, and industry to students and high school graduates; and
8. Promoting understanding of the work world and how the local economy operates.[14]

A pilot project has been launched by the U.S. Department of Labor, in cooperation with the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, and Commerce to increase collaboration at the community level. A contract has been entered into between the Department of Labor and the National Manpower Institute, a private, non-profit corporation, to establish a work-education consortium of 15 communities and the involvement of 15 other communities where collaborative efforts already exist. The National Institute of Education, in order to anticipate the role the Department of Health, Education and Welfare may play with regard to the pilot project, has commissioned a series of papers relating to various aspects of the proposed Community-Work Education Councils, of which this paper is one.

Purpose of the This Paper

The purpose of this paper is to identify crucial issues pertaining to the establishment of Community-Work Education Councils which are deserving of policy consideration and on which priorities for future research and/or evaluation could be based. A review was made of literature pertaining to past and current mechanisms similar to the proposed community-work education councils, and personal and telephone interviews were conducted with chairmen of existing industry/labor/education councils, and with representatives of government business, industrial and labor groups. Following the research phase of the project, the attempt was made to: (1) categorize past and current efforts by type (goals, methods of operation, membership, etc.); (2) identify the outcomes of such efforts (if any); and (3) identify problems associated with each type of council or committee.

The material that follows is organized into three sections: (1) A discussion of some of the major ideas and assumptions underlying the proposed establishment of community-work education councils; (2) a review of existing mechanisms similar to the proposed councils; and (3) a summary of the crucial issues relating to the pilot project now in progress.

2. IDEAS AND ASSUMPTIONS

Cameron Buchanan, in a discussion of current proposals to improve education-work linkages--including the establishment of community-work education councils, notes: "....it is not immediately clear to many educators and industrial personnel exactly what is meant by the rather high level discussion and very generalized approach presented in these typical documents. It is thought that a more particularized viewpoint is needed in order to better find out what is meant and its applicability level. Although these proposed and recommended new models and means might be considered necessary, it is not definitely shown that this is the case to the agreement of all concerned. It is possible to indicate that the perceived inconsistencies in these documents tend to show desire more than need" (emphasis added).[15]

Buchanan's statement goes right to the heart of the problem. Some students are experiencing difficulties in making the transition from school to work, there are impediments which prevent adults from re-enrolling in educational programs, and it is desirable that something be done about these problems. However, we had better be certain as to what the causes of these problems are before potential solutions are identified, and before the solutions are tried, they should be worked out in detail. With respect to the proposed community-work education councils, there is considerable confusion with regard to the stated causes of youth unemployment and impediments to adult educational renewal, and with the proposed means for overcoming these problems. Some of the more important of these issues are discussed below.

Causes of Youth Unemployment

Sar A. Levitan and Robert Taggart cite three major reasons for the nation's high youth unemployment rate: (1) Too many job seekers; (2) too few jobs; and (3) institutional impediments (mainly legal restrictions).[16] The economics of youth unemployment are well known; it is sufficient to note that there is considerable statistical support for the first two reasons. With respect to institutional impediments, the authors cite the Fair Labor Standards Act and similar state legislation which inhibit the employment of some youth between the ages of 14 and 18. However, even if these impediments were removed, the unemployment rate for youth would not be affected unless there was a concurrent improvement in economic conditions. In other words, the major cause of high youth unemployment is economic --too few jobs for too many job seekers.

Levitan and Taggart also observe: "Employers are reluctant to hire teenagers when older workers are available. In many cases their reasons are valid, but too frequently failure to hire youth is the result of arbitrary discrimination."[17]

Regardless whether or not the failure to hire youth is arbitrary discrimination, the fact is that there are not enough jobs for all jobseekers. If discrimination against youth were to end tomorrow, we would have a new problem on our hands--higher unemployment rates for non-youth.

Thus, one of the basic assumptions upon which the proposed establishment of community-work education councils is based--i.e., youth unemployment is caused by the isolation of education from the work sector--is at best dubious and at worst false. Care should be taken that for the sake of doing something--anything--we don't train our guns on the wrong target. Education is everybody's "fall guy," but education does not have the power to increase the number of jobs in the U.S. economy; neither do the proposed community-work education councils. The fact is that youth unemployment is rooted in economic causes and cannot be solved through manipulation of the educational system. The probability that the schools could do a better job in preparing students for the world does not invalidate this basic truth.

Work to School Problems

In justifying the hypothesis that adults are impeded from moving from work and other adult roles back into education and training because of the isolation factor, Paul Barton lists 11 supporting statements. These range from descriptions of unemployment insurance restrictions (which prohibit unemployed workers from enrolling in retraining or other educational programs) to a lack of communications between post-secondary school administrators and employers. The important question, however, is whether the demand for reenrollment in educational programs is real or imaginary. Obviously, the proponents of community-work education programs believe that there should be demand for educational renewal, and that there would be such a demand in the best of all possible worlds. Barton notes, however, that some employers and unions have negotiated tuition refunds and educational sabbatical plans, "but where they exist they are taken advantage of by only a small percentage of workers."[18] Along the same vein, a recent study of apprenticeship programs in Rhode Island and California reported that where unions had instituted expensive retraining programs (financed out of contributions from management), the facilities were underutilized. Business agents of the ironworkers union in Rhode Island and the compositors in California reported that few employed journeymen took advantage of the programs, and that most men on the bench--even those who were lacking in some basic skills--could not be enticed to enroll.[19] Previous to the passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act, the California legislature eased "availability for work" restrictions for unemployment insurance recipients in order that long-term unemployed workers could enroll in education and training programs and still receive unemployment insurance. Very few workers took advantage of of the opportunity.

It would appear, therefore, that the major reason that adults do not reenroll in school is because they don't want to. Why this is true, nobody knows for sure, but what it all adds up to is a lack of demand. If there were a mass demand for adult education and retraining programs—over and above those that already exist (which are considerable)--the chances are that whatever impediments exist would soon disappear. It may be true that community-work education councils could stimulate a demand for educational renewal and remove whatever local impediments may exist, but it is something else again to justify the establishment of such councils on an alleged isolation of institutions at the community level.

Collaboration

The main distinction between the proposed community-work education councils and school-community mechanisms that already exist is in the "process," i.e., the proposed councils would involve "collaboration" between institutions and agencies, whereas most existing mechanisms involve merely "cooperation." Until specific areas of collaboration are identified, however, this distinction will remain in the realm of semantics. The fact is, as will be shown in Section II, many of the suggested activities of community-work education councils are already being performed by existing advisory and other types of councils. Whether the process by which these activities are conducted is "collaborative" or "cooperative" depends pretty much on the eye of the beholder. Is the provision of job stations by employers for cooperative education students "collaborative" or "cooperative?" Is the provision of local labor market information by state employment security agencies to local CETA prime sponsors "collaborative" or "cooperative?" Were the inventories of community manpower programs and educational opportunities developed in the past by Cooperative Area Manpower and Planning Committees "collaborative" or "cooperative?" All these are suggested activities for the proposed community-work education councils.

The crucial question concerning collaboration is whether schools will be willing to share policymaking and operational responsibilities with other community organizations and agencies, and whether non-educational organizations and institutions will be willing to assume new responsibilities for educational programs. The answer to this question can be determined only if specific activities are identified which are uniquely suited to "collaboration." For example, would the schools be willing to abide by council decisions relating to vocational education occupational offerings? Thus, if the council decided that course "A" should be discontinued and course "B" should be established, would the schools be willing to: (1) put in storage all the equipment now being used in course "A", (2) dismiss the teacher of course "A", (3) purchase new equipment for course "B", and (4) hire a new instructor for course "B"? Or, if the council decided that a new course should be initiated, would employers allow the course to be taught in employer facilities, using employer equipment? And would the schools agree to such a procedure?

These are the hard questions and there are many more. Would the schools, for example, agree to initiate work education programs only after they had been approved by labor representatives--and would employers agree to such a procedure? Would labor go along with attempts to modify federal, state and local child labor and minimum wage legislation in order to increase employment opportunities for youth?

The point is that the distinction between collaboration and cooperation means nothing until specific council activities are identified. Some of the suggested council activities do not require any high degree of collaboration; some do. The crucial question is whether councils will choose to act in areas where collaboration is necessary.

The Meaning of Community

The term "community" can mean almost anything anyone wants it to mean. A community can be a family, a neighborhood, a town or city, a country, a state, a nation, or even a group of nations. The term "local community" can mean anything from a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) to a city neighborhood. Because some of the major suggested activities of community-work education councils would involve "jurisdictions," it is important that the concept of community be understood. For example, two of the suggested activities are the generation of local labor market information, and placement activities for school graduates and work education students. In the case of a council located within an SMSA, would the jurisdictions for these activities be the entire SMSA, a county within the SMSA, a city within a county within an SMSA, or a neighborhood within a city within a county within an SMSA? Or would a community be a local education agency, community college district, or a local employment office jurisdiction?

The concept of community would also determine the membership of councils. In large SMSAs, it is likely that there would be more than one council, leading to the question of how employers, labor representatives, and other state and community agency representatives would be shared. In areas where there is more than one council, or where there are other agencies (such as CETA prime sponsors) engaged in generating local labor market information and placement activities, would there be a need to coordinate the coordinators?

Perhaps the term "community," as it is used in The Boundless Resource and the Barton paper is merely an undefined descriptive for locations in which councils already exist, but when it comes to selecting activities for the various "communities," the question of jurisdiction and overlap with other mechanisms (such as CETA prime sponsors, Boards of Education, local Employment Service Office areas, and advisory committees) would have to be taken into consideration.

Local Financing

Paul Barton, in discussing the pilot project now being conducted by the National Manpower Institute, poses the question: "Would it be a contradiction for a Federal presence in a local community to urge local, and heavily private initiative? The answer was that it would not be a contradiction if the Federal role was limited to encouragement, if it were not clearly a federally funded "program" that would make communities think it was just another avenue for obtaining Federal support, and if non-Federal and non-government instrumentalities were involved in direct relationships with the communities, and with counterpart organizations within the communities.[20]

The fact is, however, that federal funds will be used to help finance the councils included in the project sample and the proposed consortium. Thus, regardless how desirable it would be to ignore or downplay the federal presence, a federal presence will nevertheless be felt. In selecting existing councils or mechanisms to be included in the consortium, what types of local financing will be required? Should there be a mix of private and public funds? Should councils be avoided that are financed solely from one source (e.g., employers, labor unions, education)? Would not "collaboration" involve joint funding of councils, in order that no one segment of the community would exert undue influence on council policy and activities? The answers to these questions are not forthcoming from the architects of the community-work education council idea. Yet, if the federal presence is to be minimized, the question as to what constitutes local financing--whether it be broad-based or solely from one or two institutions--would be crucial.

Council Authority

The question of local financing leads directly to an even more important issue. The proposed councils would be operating alongside Boards of Education (usually elected by the voters in local communities and financed out of local tax funds), variously constituted advisory committees and councils (made up of representatives of local employers, labor union representatives, educators and others—and financed out of local funds), and other duly constituted entities, funded out of local, federal and state funds. Where would community-work education councils fit into this maze? And from what base would they receive their power to influence, their "legitimacy?" Who or what institutions would establish the councils? Perhaps at this time the latter question is moot, since existing entities will be selected for participation in the pilot project, but in the long run, these questions are very much to the point.

In discussing these issues with directors of industry education councils who are hoping to receive funds from the pilot project, it became clear that by being selected for participation in the pilot project, the directors believe that a federal "imprimatur" would be given to their councils, and that this federal approval would not only increase the stature of the councils, but would help in obtaining additional funds from other federal sources. Thus, the potential beneficiaries of the pilot project see federal recognition as a prime source of both power and legitimacy. At the same time, most of the chairmen interviewed expressed skepticism of the concept as it is outlined in The Boundless Resource. "It just won't work," one respondent said. "Corporations are already being taxed to pay for what they consider to be bloated educational agencies. Why should additional corporate funds and resources be poured into education? As for school districts, they aren't about to give up one iota of their authority. It's a nice concept, but from a political point of view, it's impractical." This comment pretty much sums up the opinions of most of the directors interviewed. It is interesting to note, however, that regardless of their skepticism, most are anxious to take part in the pilot project.

The problem here is how the federal government can reach into local communities without overreaching itself? The proposers of community-work education councils want a grass roots effort--a neo-Saul Alinsky type movement--yet the very fact that the federal government is leading the cheering section and holding out the promise of funds contradicts this objective. But, without the federal imprimatur from what source would the councils draw their authority? From education? From the work sector? From both? It is certain that without the participation of education, the proposed councils would falter, and that the work sector by itself would be considered a biased and therefore ineffective intermediary. Thus, if the proposed councils, are to be effective, the impetus would have to come from both sectors, which leads to the question of incentives.

Incentives for Participation

Participation in community-work education councils would mean the assumption of new responsibilities for all concerned. According to Writz, "the proposal rests...on the conviction that enough people want very much today to reestablish their role in handling their own affairs, that this can be done most meaningfully at the local level, and that the closer tying in of youths' education and what comes after it is a good assignment to start on."[21] As a generality, this statement rings true, but when applied to specific issues, it loses a good deal of its force. Most Boards of Education throughout the nation hold open meetings, but the only time the public shows up in force is when the sensational--busing, sex education, the elimination of athletic programs, potential teacher strikes--are on the agenda. There is very little evidence that the transition from school to work is a burning issue at the local level. Perhaps, it should be, and perhaps it could be, but the fact is that it is not.

What then would be the incentives for participation in community-work education councils? It would appear that educators would have the strongest incentive, since if the councils were successful, they would receive help from other segments of the community in providing services for students. But, educators are already sponsoring and participating in thousands of similar mechanisms throughout the country. It would have to be shown clearly that community-work education councils had the potential for providing something over and above what is presently being provided by existing mechanisms before the enthusiastic participation of educators could be expected. In addition, it can be anticipated that educators would be wary of any proposal which would threaten their control over educational programs.

As for employers, if there were evidence to show that employers were having major difficulties in hiring well-prepared entry-level workers, or that retraining is a major problem in most business and industrial establishments, employers might be willing to allocate funds and resources--over and above what they are already contributing to education--in an effort to solve the problem. In today's loose labor market, however, there is little evidence that this is a major problem. Can we expect that "corporate social conscience" would provide the incentive? Even Wirtz doubts this: "The primary business of business is still business, and the currency of 'corporate social conscience' is inflated, except as it is based on the more classical corporate self interest."[22]

The history of labor union participation in educational advisory committees and councils is not one that would inspire confidence in collaboration. In the early days of the Manpower Development and Training Program, trade unions effectively blocked the establishment of programs in occupational areas that were considered apprenticeable, and delayed the full implementation of the Act's on-the-job training provisions for well over two years. A 1966 President's Committee on Manpower report, for example, pointed out that the MDTA program in San Francisco was primarily female, because labor union representatives on San Francisco's MDTA Advisory Committee vetoed programs in traditionally male occupational areas.[23] A recent report on cooperative education programs in urban areas pointed out that where unions were asked to either participate or help promote work education programs, union demands in return for participation or cooperation, constituted a threat to the entire program.[24] Finally, unions are adamantly opposed to relaxation of child labor and minimum wage legislation. Indeed, the incentives for union participation could be to block some of the most important suggested activities of the councils.

The answer to these objections, of course, is that the various parties could find some areas where collaboration would be possible. This may be true, but would the resulting activity be substantive, or would it be any more significant than activities which are already taking place under the sponsorship of existing advisory committees and councils? This would depend on the areas for action selected, and on the degree to which individual council members were motivated to act.

Council Membership

One of the problems that have plagued the architects of past and present advisory committees and councils has been the question of membership. Who should sit on advisory committees or councils? The categories of membership are easy to identify: business and industry, education, labor, community organizations, and the general public. When it comes down to individual selections, however, the process becomes a good deal more complicated. How many businessmen and industrialists would be necessary in order that all employers in a community would be well represented? How many public members would be needed to represent all segments of the general public? Can the Central Labor Council or Building Trades Council speak for all unions in the community? Which of the myriad community organizations should be selected for membership?

The problem is relatively simple at the class or "project" level. For example, it would not be difficult for coordinators or printing trades cooperative education programs to select advisory committees. They would recruit the leading employers of printing trades workers in the community, and representatives of printing trades unions. The functions of the committees would be equally clear: they would advise on curriculum, and provide on-the-job training for students enrolled in the programs.

The problem of selection for more generalized councils, such as the proposed community-work education councils, however, is quite another matter. Can a large industrial employer (who is apt to be well known and therefore desirable for publication relations reasons) speak for all other employers in the community, or even most of the community's employers? What specifically would the representatives of the various segments of the community be asked to do? The problem is most acute with the proposed community-work education councils, because no single institution is charged with the responsibility for their formation. If, for example, education was the moving force in the establishment of the councils, the selection of members would be based on whatever specific contributions educators thought a broad-based community council could provide. The same would be true if employers, labor unions, or even the general public were the moving forces behind the establishment of the councils. But, with no "core," with no particular agency or institution advocating (for its own reasons) the formation of councils, how would the councils be formed, and if they were formed, who would be selected to sit on them, and what would they do?

With respect to the pilot program, existing councils (variously named) would be selected for participation. In addition to whatever these councils are doing now, their agenda would consist of one or more of the following five broad areas of activities: (1) counseling and advice for students; (2) the provision of occupational information; (3) placement activities; (4) development of the career education concept and education-experience programs; and (5) the establishment of educational interchanges.[25] Presumably, the councils would apply pressure on existing agencies to provide services, institute action programs on their own, or both. But, the desired membership of councils would depend on which role the councils adopted. If, for example, the councils adopt primarily the advocate role, the most appropriate membership would be highly prestigious representatives of each sector of the community, regardless of their expertise. If, on the other hand, the councils opt for action "programs," it would be necessary for council members to have expertise in the program areas. Past experience indicates that the latter type council is the most difficult to establish.

Summary

Willard Wirtz, in The Boundless Resource, outlines a prospectus for an Education/Work Policy. He presents a problem and suggests in general terms a solution to the problem. The book is a provocative and eloquent plea for community level action to improve linkages between school and work for both youth and adults. The idea of "collaboration" between institutions at the local level through the establishment of community-work education councils is eminently worthy of consideration. It is an idea, however, that has not as yet been fully developed. The Wirtz prospectus is, as it should be, a call to action, but before action is taken, the proposed program should be given the developmental attention it deserves. Wirtz cites Antigone's counsel: "Until we have tried and failed, we haven't failed." True, but first we ought to know exactly what it is that we are trying.

3. WHAT'S GOING ON

The typical school district in a town or city of the United States has the following:

1. Board of Education
2. Citizen's Advisory Committee (appointed by the Board or local education agency, self-appointed, or both)
3. Advisory Committees on Vocational Education (usually one for each vocational education occupational area)
4. Advisory Committees to Individual Instructors of Vocational Education and Other Classes
5. Parent Teachers' Associations
6. One or More Joint Apprenticeship Committees

In addition, many school districts now have "career education committees," "industry-education councils," and "community resource workshops." If the district is located within an Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title I area, it will also have an advisory committee for programs funded under Title I. Finally, most school districts are within the jurisdictions of Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) prime sponsors, which are required to have advisory committees made up of employers, and representatives of labor, the general public, and community agencies (including education).

Trade associations, individual employers and labor unions contribute materials, participate in work education programs, cooperate in student vocational education and other student clubs and associations, arrange field trips for both students and teachers, and contribute equipment to the schools.

With all this activity going on in most of the nation's school districts, can it be possible that education is totally isolated from other institutions--that the schools are completely separate entities, divorced from the work and service sectors of communities? The answer to this question, of course, depends on the extent to which educators make use of existing committees and councils and non-educator contributions, the quality of non-educator participation and contributions, and--most importantly--the value of the resulting policies and programs to individual students.

In this section, a review is made of the different types of activities which are presently conducted, their accomplishments (if any), their shortcomings, and the reasons for their success or lack of success. The section concludes with a comparison between what is actually taking place at the present time and with what is contemplated (or hoped for) through the establishment of still another group of local level councils—the community work-education councils.

The material is organized into two sub-sections: (1) Existing Activity; and (2) The "New Means." The first sub-section is subdivided as follows: (1) Institutional Activities; and (2) Committees and Councils.

Existing Activity

Institutional Activities

It was estimated in 1963 that the dollar volume of instructional materials, visual aids, career literature, posters, and so on, provided to public schools by industry--trade associations as well as individual employers--was over $160 million.[26] This estimate does not include the dollar value of scholarship and fellowship funds nor of contributed time of executives and other industry personnel. There is no doubt that the volume of industry-sponsored and disseminated material for use in schools is now well beyond the 1963 estimate. No estimates are available for labor or other institutional contributions, but--although a good deal less than industry contributions--they are considerable. In this sub-section, an appraisal is made of the activities of institutions, acting on their own (outside of committees and councils), in behalf of the public schools.

Business and Industry

The most comprehensive survey of individual company support of public education was made by Robert L. Ayars in 1963--before the formation of the National Alliance of Businessmen and the great upsurge in industry participation caused by the riots of the mid-sixties and the resulting manpower programs (most of which were educational) that followed the passage of anti-poverty legislation. Ayars surveyed 248 companies. He found that the most often mentioned contribution was the provision of instructional materials. Close to seven out of ten of the companies prepared and distributed booklets; six out of ten provided filmstrips, slides, transparencies, records and tapes; four out of ten supplied textbooks and company histories; and well over three out of ten furnished samples of raw materials and/or finished products, and a variety of displays and exhibits.[27]

Table 1 shows the frequency of company sponsored instructional services for students, and Table 2 shows the frequency of company sponsored help in upgrading the "real world" knowledge of teachers. Table 1 indicates that even before the passage of the Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1968, a significant number of companies were participating in work education programs, especially at the college level. Table 1 also indicates that a considerable number of companies, at both the secondary and postsecondary levels, were helping in vocational training, counseling and guidance programs.

The amount of company activity at the elementary level, for both students and teachers, was considerable, as were the number of workshops, conferences and seminars for teachers, in which company representatives participated.

Table 1
Instructional Service Provided for Schools

	Elementary	Secondary	College
Student field trips to offices, mills and factories	24%	66%	55%
Classroom and assembly speakers	18%	62%	59%
Student club programs	4%	60%	8%
Student work experience programs	7%	26%	39%
Help in vocational training, counseling, and guidance programs	4%	42%	38%
Student award and recognition programs	3%	29%	18%
Curriculum advisors	4%	22%	19%
Facilities and equipment for meetings	4%	17%	14%
Teachers and professors on loan	4%	5%	16%
Substitute teachers and adult or night school teachers	1%	14%	22%
Student travel programs (less than)	1%	3%	5%
Other programs (seminars, tours, research projects, work-study programs for dropouts, etc.)	2%	6%	6%

Source: Albert L. Ayars "How Business and Industry are Helping Schools" pg. 57, Saturday Review, October 17, 1964).

Table 2

Help in Upgrading Teachers

	Elementary	Secondary	College or Adult School
Plant visits; Business-Industry Education Day programs	24%	54%	34%
Workshops, conferences, and seminars for teachers	7%	54%	34%
Research and work experience opportunities for teachers	1%	10%	24%
Special classes	1%	3%	3%
Travel programs	1%	2%	1%
Other programs (consultant service, assistance in economic education programs, special trips and summer employment)	2%	5%	3%

Source: Albert L. Ayars "How Business and Industry are Helping Schools," pg. 57, Saturday Review, October 17, 1974.

A more recent survey by the National Industrial Conference Board of 50 firms involved in providing services to schools (1972) indicated that the degree of involvement ranged from a low of 34 percent who at the time were offering political support to schools in fiscal matters to a high of 83 percent who were providing financial support for specific programs. Half the respondents indicated that they were providing opportunities for students and teachers to observe business and plant operations on a regular basis, and equipment for specific classes.[28] The businessmen surveyed, however, believed that they could have done more. Some said there was a lack of requests by schools for business help and, in some cases, refusals on the part of schools to use business donated materials. One Southern bank president said that educators refuse to teach "free enterprise economics."[29]

In 1968, the Conference Board conducted a survey of 1,033 companies to determine their willingness to initiate action on education and training programs. The results, shown in Table 3, indicate that the highest percentage of positive replies pertained to the "retraining of workers rendered unemployed by automation;" the lowest percentage to "improvement of local school curriculum."

Table 3
Company Willingness to Initiate Action on Education and Training Problems

		Percentage of Companies				
			By Size		By Industry	
	Total Respondents	Small	Medium	Large	Manufacturing	Nonmanufacturing
Number of Companies	(1,033)	(146)	(494)	(393)	(683)	(350)
Improvement and expansion of local facilities...........	55.6%	59.6%	54.9%	55.0%	56.4%	54.0%
Improvement of local school curriculum................	48.5%	50.7%	49.4%	46.6%	48.8%	48.0%
Problems associated with school dropouts...........	53.9%	58.9%	52.2%	54.2%	52.7%	56.3%
Improvement of work/career opportunities for minority groups...................	62.9%	69.2%	65.2%	74.3%	67.9%	71.7%
Retraining of workers rendered unemployed by automation...............	72.6%	73.2%	70.6%	74.1%	74.1%	69.7%

Source: The National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., *The Role of Business in Public Affairs*, Studies in Public Affairs No. 2 (New York: The Board, 1968, p. 26.

Trade Associations: Business and industry trade associations generate a large volume of materials and services for the educational system. These range from career education and curriculum materials to the sponsorship of "community resource workshops" (by the American Iron and Steel Institute) and the promotion of industry-education councils by the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The latter two organizations have been in the business of providing materials and services to the schools for a number of years. Both have adopted policies in favor of "career education," and both have sponsored "business-industry days" and other events throughout the country. An interview with the Educational Director of the NAM revealed that more than 100 members of the association are participating in industry-education councils. He indicated, however, that industry participation is pretty much restricted to "Fortune's 500." The former Educational Director of the U.S. Chamber said that business participation in education increases as labor markets get "tighter," or as unemployment rates go down and employers experience difficulties in recruiting and holding workers. He also said that the Chamber's emphasis has shifted from business-industry career days to cooperation in instituting career education curricula.

National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB): Formed in the late 1960s as a partnership between business and the federal government, NAB concentrates mainly on the placement of disadvantaged individuals in jobs. In its earliest stages, executives were loaned to newly established NAB offices throughout the country to get the program off the ground. Working with local employment service personnel, NAB offices developed jobs and filled them with disadvantaged individuals recruited by local employment service offices. Today, the job development and placement program is administered primarily by employment service personnel.

A study performed in 1968 attempted to identify cooperative efforts that had taken place between schools and industry to meet the goals of NAB. The results indicated that the communication link between schools and industry was at best poor and at worst nonexistent. Businessmen did not know how to contact in the school system, and when they did manage to propose ideas to school administrators, many claimed that they were given "the run around." Others claimed that teachers were interested in business-sponsored education programs, but had difficulty in gaining approval for such programs from their supervisors.[30]

At the present time, NAB has 130 metropolitan offices throughout the United States which, in addition to their placement activities, sponsor the following youth programs:

1. Youth Motivation Task Force: A program which brings disadvantaged youth in contact with young men and women from business who have similar backgrounds. Its major purpose is to motivate students to remain in school.

2. College Cluster Program: A program to establish clusters of business representatives and college administrators around minority colleges so that the employing community can assist graduates to better compete for jobs in business and industry.

3. Vocational Guidance Institutes: A program, sponsored by local businessmen, for school counselors, administrators and curricula specialists. The goal of these institutes, which are co-sponsored with universities, is to provide educators with a better awareness of minority problems and to become better equipped to counsel students on the types of jobs open to them upon graduation.

4. Guided Opportunities for Life Decisions: A program to provide economically disadvantaged youth with year-round work experiences that will create a greater understanding of private sector career opportunities and help students choose realistic career goals.

Mr. James F. Grogan, of the Xerox Corporation, in discussing the goals of NAB, stated: "If our nation's businessmen and educators can't find ways to stem the tide (i.e., school dropouts) and to make our educational curriculum valid and relevant in terms of meaningful jobs for everyone, we can only envision the 'Roman Circus' and the predominant welfare state as being grimmer than anything predicted by Gibbon and Orwell." [31]

Constraints: The extent of voluntary industry participation in education, and the extent to which industry's contributions are accepted by educators, depends on whether constraints, based primarily on mutual confusion and suspicion, can be overcome. Although there is evidence to indicate that polarized positions between industry and education are breaking down, there can be no doubt that communication between the two institutions could be improved. According to Burt, some of the constraining factors stemming from the educational world are:

1. Confusion on the part of school administrators as to what they want from industry.

2. Lack of knowledge on the part of school administrators of how industry is organized or how to approach industry.

3. Suspicion on the part of school administrators of motivations of industry in working with schools.

4. Fear of school administrators that industry groups will become special interest pressure groups.

5. Lack of willingness by school administrators to provide staff to work with industry in developing cooperative relationships.

6. Overemphasis by school administrators at local, state, and national levels on advisory committees as the sole technique for achieving industry-education cooperation.

7. Lack of understanding by school administrators of the role of the instructor in achieving industry-education cooperation.

8. Lack of coordination of industry participation in the individual schools of the school system by administrators at the central office level.

9. Jealously of prerogatives on the part of supervising staff at both the central office and individual school levels so that industry participation in school programs becomes diffused and relatively impotent.

> 10. Lack of guidance from state officials, national educational organizations, and the U.S. Office of Education in providing realistic guidelines and adequate staff to enlist and encourage industry participation in school matters.[32]

As for industry, Burt lists the following:

> 1. Confusion concerning the mission of public education, school organization and how to work effectively with school people.
>
> 2. Unwillingness to make long-range commitments to volunteer services to schools, thus creating among educators a sense of impermanency and resulting self-seeking motivations on the part of industry.
>
> 3. Too quick to disillusionment on the part of industry when school officials take a cautious approach to industry-initiated cooperative programs.
>
> 4. Lack of planned organization, assignment of staff, and budgeted funds on the part of industry to effectively channel and implement its desire to be involved in work with schools.
>
> 5. Lack of knowledge and leadership on the part of industry as to what it may rightfully demand, as a matter of public policy, from the public schools.[33]

Summary:

Although it is true that the constraints listed above inhibit interaction between education and industry, it is equally true that cooperative (and perhaps even "collaborative") programs have been and are being developed and that many of them are in the areas of suggested activities for the proposed community-work education councils. Education and Industry are, indeed, "independent sovereignties," but there is considerable "commerce" between them. It is highly doubtful that either sector will--or should--give up its independence, but total isolation is not a condition now and it is not likely to be in the future. Perhaps more extensive collaborative relationships can be developed between the two sectors, but there is always the problem of striking a balance. One recalls the angry criticisms of college students during the sixties to the effect that our nation's colleges and universities were nothing more than "farm clubs" for industry.

Labor Unions

Labor unions enter into collaborative relationships with schools in the conduct of apprenticeship programs, cooperate in some work education programs, and provide texts and materials for use in the nation's classrooms. In recent years, however, unions have had difficulties in supporting some educational programs involving cooperation between schools and the work sector, and have been in outright opposition to suggestions that labor standards legislation be relaxed to permit increased employment of youth. A recent study of cooperative education programs in urban areas, for example, pointed out that schools refrained from requesting union help in the inauguration of cooperative programs, because they feared union demands would be impossible to meet.[34] The Los Angeles Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, issued a "Statement of Position on Community Involvement in Vocational Education," which may be typical of the attitudes of most union officials and members toward work education programs. Such programs, the statement reads, should have advisory committees which include labor representation. Unions should be consulted on the initiation of new programs and be assured that regular workers will not be displaced. In addition to receiving school credit and the minimum wage, students who participate in work education programs should be extended the benefits of social security and unemployment insurance. Finally, "there should be periodic reviews and reports by school personnel of places of employment and conditions of labor. Such reports should be given to each member of program advisory committees." Although the Los Angeles statement appears eminently reasonable, it could be viewed as a threat by both school officials and employers.[35]

The AFL-CIO has been cool to proposed career education programs, and does not promote local union participation in industry-education councils. Unions do not view "youth unemployment" apart from total unemployment, and are therefore wary of programs to cure unemployment for any segment of the population which do not attack the basic economic causes of unemployment.

Nevertheless, while unions remain involved in their traditional basic functions, they are today expanding these functions to participation in broad social movements. The AFL-CIO's program for the 1970s includes efforts to resolve ghetto and inner city problems, and aid to the rural poor and others bypassed by society. This emphasis on social aims is in response to the broader interests and social consciousness of new members coming into the unions--government workers (especially teachers) and blacks. One important factor which may have an effect on education-union relations is that there are presently 4,000 school districts throughout the United States which have collective bargaining arrangements with teachers' unions.

Despite the cool reception given career education by the national office of the AFL-CIO, the United Automobile Workers (UAW) and the United Rubber, Plastic and Linoleum Workers of America have issued statements supporting career education, and there has been a good deal of local union participation in career education programs in

New York State, Springfield, Massachusetts and Peoria, Illinois. One of the most interesting of the many union-education cooperative programs is the UAW's assignment of 27 retired skilled craftsmen as advisors in the vocational education departments of 19 inner-city Detroit schools. The advisors attempt to acquaint and motivate students concerning the opportunities and advantages of becoming skilled craftsmen, and assist youth in preparing to take apprenticeship examinations.

Summary:

Unions have been participating in educational programs throughout the history of the American labor movement, and it can be expected that their participation will increase in the future. However, care must be taken that the goals of proposed programs are not inimical to union interests. If, for example, proposed community-work education programs are billed as panaceas for youth unemployment, or if they include among their objectives programs which unions consider contrary to the interests of American workers (such as the modification of labor standards legislation), little cooperation (or collaboration) can be expected from the labor movement.

National Citizens Groups

Since the 1960s, a number of national organizations have been formed to enlist the various facets of our national life, on a voluntary basis, to help in developing human resources. Among them are the Urban Coalition, the National Committee for the Support of Public Schools, and the Joint Committee on Economic Education (which was founded in 1949). Although the overall objectives of these organizations are broad, programs in support of public education are one of their major goals.

Urban Coalition: In the field of education, the Urban Coalition, which is made up of political, social, religious and industrial leaders, has sponsored programs in three large cities--New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. The three local Coalitions are involved primarily in the development of industry-school cooperative programs in the inner-city areas.

National Committee for the Support of Public Schools: Founded in 1962, the National Committee is composed of leaders in business, labor, agriculture and the professions, and is financed entirely by volunteer tax-deductible contributions from individuals, industries and foundations. Its primary purpose is to provide facts and insights regarding public education so that its members, reflecting all shades of opinion, can intelligently work out solutions to meet the needs of their own schools.

Joint Committee on Economic Education: The Joint Council on Economic Education was organized in 1949 with the support of the Committee for Economic Development and from the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education. The entire program of the Council is to: "reduce economic illiteracy by improving the quality of economics taught in our schools and colleges--by trained teachers using effective teaching materials." There are over 50 affiliated councils in 46 states which work with local school systems and colleges to develop programs founded on local needs.

These are only a few of the national groups which are engaged in the support of public education; countless others exist at the state and local level.

Summary

This brief review of industry/labor/citizen group interaction with the public school system indicates that the schools are receiving considerable support from other private and public institutions. Unfortunately, no comprehensive evaluation of such support has ever been made. As a result, the question as to its usefulness is generally determined by the biases of observers. Industry criticizes the schools for not making use of business-generated materials; the schools criticize industry for grinding its own axe; and labor criticizes both both education and industry for reasons of its own. Yet, all three sectors--plus citizens' groups--join in cooperative and collaborative efforts in most of the nation's school districts. Perhaps these efforts are not all that they should be, but by any stretch of the imagination it cannot be said that complete isolation exists between them.

Committees and Councils

It is impossible to estimate the total number of committees and councils either sponsored by public schools or appointed by other groups (including self-appointed citizens' committees) to advise or pressure the schools on various matters in existence today, but the number must be more than 100,000. It is estimated that there are over 20,000 formally organized vocational education advisory committees alone, and this figure does not include advisory committees to individual vocational education and/or work education classes.[36] Indeed, it would be interesting to know the amount of time educators spend meeting and working with advisory committees and councils. The number of committees and councils has increased dramatically since the 1960s, because most federal legislation passed during that turbulent period mandated the establishment of advisory committees or councils, and because of pressure from local groups for increased participation in the formation of local school district policies and decisions.

It would be impossible in this paper to review the activities of all committees and councils which are active in school matters today; thus, the decision was made to concentrate on three types of advisory groups: (1) Vocational Education Advisory Committees; (2) Industry-Education Councils; and (3) Federally-mandated manpower advisory councils. These types of committees are most closely associated with the transition of students from school to work and the movement of adults from work and other adult roles back into school.

Vocational Education Advisory Committees

Vocational education advisory committees are of three types: (1) General; (2) Departmental; and (3) Specific Occupation. Most school districts throughout the United States have one or more of these types of committees. Their membership consists of employers, labor unions, community and governmental organizations, representatives of various segments of the general public, and, of course, vocational educators. Although their functions are quite similar to those suggested for the proposed community-work education councils, the process through which advisory committees operate is definitely not "collaborative." An American Vocational Education Association (AVA) booklet on advisory committees, before describing the functions of advisory committees, states what their purpose is not:

> "The functions of the local advisory committee can best be established by stating first what the group is not to do. The numerous provinces which invite participation outweigh the areas closed to committee operation and prevent this approach from being negative...The duties of advisory committees should extend beyond giving advice, but the members have neither legislative nor administrative authority.... Formation of these committees is not intended to usurp the perogatives of boards of education or of administrative staffs, but occasionally such fears are articulated. Because the approval and support of the board members and staff are vital, they must be assured that, while the danger is present and some advisory committees have tried to move in that direction, the barriers will be firmly placed."[37]

Once having made this distinction, the AVA goes on to explain the functions of advisory committees as follows:[38]

1. Occupational Surveys: "Advisory committees should advise the school administration on the types of offerings required to satisfy the preparatory as well as the retraining and upgrading needs of the individuals of the community." To do

this properly, advisory committees should either conduct occupational surveys, or see to it that they are conducted.

2. Verification of Course Content: Advisory committees should establish practices "which will keep instruction practical and functional."

3. Support for Proposed Legislation: Advisory committees should "support educators in the important area of legislation and appropriations."

One vocational educator cites the following functions as ways in which advisory committees can help the educator:

1. Make community surveys;
2. Determine and verify need for training;
3. Provide tangible evidence that industry is supporting the program;
4. Review past accomplishments and forecast trends affecting training and employment;
5. Evaluate the programs;
6. Provide financial, legislative and moral support;
7. Interpret the program to the community, to unions, to employers;
8. Plan facilities and establish standards for shop and lab training;
9. Secure donations of equipment and supplies;
10. Identify new technical developments which require changes in the curriculum;
11. Encourage teaching recruits;
12. Provide guidance and support in technical matters;
13. Determine qualifications needed for selecting instructors;
14. Counsel and guide students in relation to the world of work;
15. Find placement opportunities for students;
16. Determine criteria for evaluating student performance; and

17. Develop cooperative work experience programs for students.[39]

If many of the above listed functions appear to be the same as those proposed for community-work education councils, it is because they are the same. The question, of course, is how well have these functions been carried out by advisory committees. No evaluation has been devoted exclusively to the performance of vocational advisory committees at the local level. However, many assessments of vocational education programs in general have commented on the contributions of advisory committees. The consensus appears to be that the closer advisory committees are attached to specific classes, or occupational areas, the more effective they are apt to be.

Specific Occupation or Class Advisory Committees: In all the discussion about the transition of students from school to work, the role of the instructor or coordinator at the "firing line" level is all too often ignored. Most students, especially vocational education students, receive the vast majority of their counseling from instructors, who in turn, are required in most states to have had practical experience in the trades they teach in order to be qualified as vocational education instructors. Instructors also play a major role in the placement of students, and in following up on students after placement. Specific occupation or class advisory committees are invaluable to instructors in carrying out these functions. The advantages of these types of committees are that their purposes are clearly delineated:

1. To advise on curricula and equipment for specific occupational areas or classes;

2. To provide equipment where it is needed;

3. To advise on job opportunities in the occupational area;

4. To provide work stations for cooperative and other work education students; and

5. To provide full-time jobs for graduates.

Asked to name the characteristics of active and involved advisory committees, the coordinators of 30 cooperative education programs in urban areas replied that such committees, composed of high level business or industrial representatives, should meet often and perform at least two major functions: (1) employer relations and job development; and (2) curriculum development and revision. Members of such ideal committees would visit classrooms, provide advice on how training could be improved, talk with students individually, and make presentations to classes as a whole.[40]

Departmental Advisory Committees: These committees serve each occupational area (or cluster) of a vocational education program in a school district or school. Their value depends on the extent to which demands are made on the committees by school districts or schools. The coordinators mentioned above rated 15 out of 30 of their departmental advisory committees in some way useful; the remainder were of little use (at least to school coordinators).[41] According to the coordinators interviewed, the value of a good departmental advisory committee is that it either performs functions that coordinators otherwise would have to perform, or that it helps coordinators in performing key functions. For example, in Houston, departmental advisory committees draft lists of employers, by occupational area, that have expressed an interest in participating in secondary cooperative education programs. These lists are distributed to coordinators for job development purposes. The New York City Cooperative Education Commission meets six times a year to deal with program promotion, the development of network stations, and problems that arise in the area of city-wide employer and labor relations. A committee for a Boston fashion merchandising program, composed of 27 representatives of department stores in Washington, D.C., New York City and Boston, not only lends status to the program, but also assures the development of adequate work stations, placement for graduates, and provides advice in maintaining up-to-date curricula.

What little evidence exists, however, indicates that the performance of departmental advisory committees is uneven throughout the country.

General Advisory Committees: General advisory committees assist in the development and maintenance of the entire vocational education program of a school or school district. General committees are the farthest removed from the "firing line," and their purposes or functions are the least clearly delineated. It would be expected that the major responsibility for the generation of local labor market information--across the broad occupational spectrum--would be vested in general advisory committees. However, there is little evidence that such committees engage in this function, or if they do, the results do not reach local education agency personnel responsible for planning, or school counselors and instructors. The major purposes of general advisory committees appear to be of a public relations nature. The prestige of their memberships lend validity to the overall programs, they assist the schools in legislative and appropriations matters, and sponsor events which focus public attention on vocational education programs.

Limitations of Advisory Committees: One of the major limitations of vocational education advisory committees, especially of "general" variety is that the membership is not often chosen according to the expertise needed to carry out committee functions. What appears to be happening in many cases is a "prestige exchange." Businessmen, labor representatives and members of other segments of the community consider service on advisory committees something of a status symbol, and educators, by appointing prestigious members of the community to advisory committees, gain public acceptance for their vocational education programs. The result is that committees are often made up of individuals who agree with each other and who do not expect to devote much time to committee matters other than the time they spend at meetings. Even more important, the more complicated functions of advisory committees, such as the generation of local labor market information through occupational surveys, are often ignored. However, these limitations which apply to all kinds of voluntary activities, including those of industry-education councils and the proposed community-work education councils.

Industry-Education Councils

The term "industry-education councils" is used here to denote a number of variously named councils, committees, workshops, partnerships, etc., that have come into being over the years, not necessarily through the initiative of educators, and that are concerned with the total educational program, rather than any particular type of education, such as "vocational education." Although in their earliest days, some of these organizations were formed to improve educational programs in specific fields (such as science and engineering after the Sputnik scare), most are now embracing the "career education" concept. The prime movers of the industry-education movement have been industrialists and their associations, such as the N.A.M. Labor participation has not been extensive, and participation by educators has been characterized by caution and, at times, outright reluctance. Although participation by individuals as parents, rather than as representatives of institutions, has been non-existent in most industry-education type organizations, because the impetus for the establishment of industry-education councils has occurred for the most part outside the school system, they have been afforded the attributes of "citizens' movements."

There are two national associations of industry-education councils, one of which dates back to 1964: The National Association of Industry Education Councils (NAIEC), and the Industry Education Councils of America (IECA).

The NAIEC was established in 1964, although its beginnings date back to the 1940s when it was known as the Business-Industry Section of the National Science Teacher Association. Its purposes are as follows:

1. To provide a national organization for representatives of business, industry, education, government and labor to promote increased levels of cooperation;

2. To identify areas of mutual interest and to formulate programs and procedures which meet acceptable standards; and

3. To communicate with any group concerned with education about cooperative programs and projects.

The NAIEC has approximately 250-300 members composed of educators, individual firms and national trade associations. Recently, the organization merged with the National Community Workshop Association, an organization made up primarily of educators. Previous to the merger, the NAIEC's membership was primarily from the business and industry sectors; it is now composed of equal representation from the education and business-industry sectors.

The IECA is a relatively new organization of California and Arizona industry-education councils. Its purposes are as follows:

1. Establish a clearinghouse to stimulate a better understanding of interrelationship of schools and industry;

2. Encourage the formation of statewide or regional groups to develop programs at the local level;

3. Develop leadership at the state or regional levels for the implementation of programs and activities at the community level;

4. Interchange information concerning ongoing programs and to develop methods for their implementation at the state or regional level;

5. Hold regional meetings, seminars and the like for interchange of information for the benefit of all concerned; and

6. Encourage long-range planning to carry out the above-mentioned objectives.

There are approximately 40 industry-education councils presently in operation (mainly in New York and California); the number of similar mechanisms (variously named) is unknown. In preparation for the writing of this paper, representatives of both the NAIEC and IECA, the directors of seven industry-education councils, and six similar mechanisms were interviewed. The purposes of the interviews were to determine the history of individual councils, their memberships, paid staffs, financing, activities, problems, views regarding "collaboration" versus "cooperation," and the possible effects of federal intervention in what has been primarily a local initiative.

History: Of the 13 councils whose directors were interviewed, seven were initiated primarily by industry, five by education, and one by a public group. The reasons for the establishment of the councils, although varied, were primarily concerned with the transition of students from school to work (although one was formed solely to provide supplementary education for employed adults). One had its beginnings in the post-Sputnik scare, one in the student unrest of the sixties, four in response to the career education concept, and two in the concept of using community resources in educational programs. Others were inspired by testimony at a statewide hearing on public education, the need felt by some industrialists in one community to promote the teaching of free enterprise economics in the public schools, the result of a labor market survey (by the Chamber of Commerce) which showed a need for better business linkages with the public schools, and the need for teacher training in some communities.

Council Memberships: Two of the councils had no formalized structure; five limited membership to business and industrial representatives; three were composed of business and education representatives; two included labor representatives in addition to business and education members and one included community agency members in addition to business, labor and education; and one was made up of political office holders as well as business and labor representatives.

Paid Staffs: All but three had paid staffs. The average number of staff members was three, but one had seven full-time staff members, and one had a staff of 13 full-time and 10 part-time employees.

Financing: Five of the councils were financed by state and local education agencies, but in three of these instances, industry provided in-kind contributions. Industry provided all of the funding for five of the councils, but in one instance, local education agencies provided in-kind contributions. One council was funded jointly by industry and education, and one was the recipient of a federal grant. In two of the councils funded solely by education agencies, one also received a federal grant and one was the recipient of contributions from the general public.

Activities: Among the activities of the councils were the following:

1. Sponsorship of Job Fairs and other "events" (e.g., career days, testimonial dinners, teacher and student award ceremonies, etc.)

2. Sponsorship of conferences on legislation

3. Sponsorship of NAB-model Career Guidance Institute (two councils)

4. Development of economic education programs (two councils)

5. Development of community resources for use by schools (two councils)

6. Development of career education programs for students and the promotion of resources for use in career education programs (five councils)

7. Development of teacher training programs (three councils)

8. Program to provide supplementary education for adult workers (non-high school graduates) on job-sites

9. Promotion of community resource workshops

10. The generation of local labor market information (two councils)

11. Miscellaneous provision of services to schools on request

Problem: Only four of the respondents identified problems of any substantive nature. One said that it was impossible to arrive at a consensus as to what the objectives of the council should be (this council had 60 members from business, labor and education). As a result, council activities were carried out on an ad hoc basis. Suspicion by educators was cited as a problem by one respondent. "They think we're out to indoctrinate pupils in the free enterprise system," he said, "but we're dealing with that. They're beginning to come around." One council suffered a loss of funding for political reasons, the nature of which the director was unwilling to disclose. One respondent mentioned three problems: (1) the education members turn out in force for meetings, whereas attendance by industry members is sparse; (2) teachers in some school districts appear to be hostile to industry contributions; and (3) because of a battle at the state level between vocational and career education divisions, it is difficult to gain the cooperation of vocational education personnel (this counsel was primarily career education oriented).

Most respondents, however, said that they were "problem-free," which may be an indication that no substantive attempts had been made to achieve a collaborative relationship with the schools (see below).

Collaboration vs. Cooperation: Respondents were asked whether they were familiar with The Boundless Resource and proposals for the establishment of community-work education councils that would involve collaboration between education and other community institutions. Seven respondents were acquainted with the book and the proposal, and four were hopeful of receiving pilot project grants. One of the respondents, quoted in Section I of this paper, was outspoken in his skepticism of the idea (yet he was one of the respondents hoping to receive a pilot project grant). The remainder, though less outspoken, were nevertheless cautious in response to the question of collaboration. "Educators are already suspicious of us," one respondent said, "we've got to prove our motives are pure." Another said that in order for true collaboration to take place, there would have to be a "third force," or "demands on the part of the general public" for changes in educational responsibility.

Effects of Federal Intervention: Since several of the councils were already receiving federal grants, and others hoped to be federal grant recipients, it is not surprising that all but one of the council directors saw no conflict in federal financing of "grass roots" programs. One director, however, was adamantly opposed to federal financing of industry-education councils. "Federal funds would be a crutch and crutches are only for cripples." He believed that the whole idea of community efforts to improve local education programs would be compromised by federal funding. This respondent constituted a minority of one, and his council was made up solely of industry representatives. Most of the remaining respondents believed that federal recognition (through grants) would lend prestige to the programs and would lead to additional funding possibilities.

Summary

Industry-education councils are a relatively new phenomenon on the educational scene (although some have been in existence for a number of years), and represent a desire and willingness on the part of non-education institutions (primarily industry) to contribute expertise and resources to the education of American students. There is no indication at this time, however, of collaborative relationships between councils and schools--in the sense of sharing policy and operational decisions for educational programs--and there is even less indication that there is a groundswell of "public interest"--or the interest of individuals in their private, non-institutional capacities as parents and citizens--in the work of the councils. The councils represent primarily a response to the career education concept on the part of industry and, to a lesser extent, labor unions and other institutions and agencies. Their activities are directed toward the total educational program, rather than toward specific segments of it (such as academic or vocational education), but the activities themselves are not much different than those performed by vocational education and other educational advisory committees presently in operation.

Manpower Advisory Committees

Ever since the passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962, educators, employers, union members and representatives of other community institutions and agencies have participated in manpower advisory and/or planning committees. Several of these committees, such as Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS) committees and today's Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) state and local committees have attempted to coordinate community manpower resources for both youth and adults, and bring about increased cooperation, if not collaboration, between private and public sector institutions. It would be an understatement to say that these federally mandated structures were not altogether successful, and that one of the major reasons for their failure was institutional polarization. For example:

--In the early days of MDTA, labor was often pitted against the Employment Service and local education jurisdictions in the generation of proposals for institutional and on-the-job training programs.

--Shortcomings of the CAMPS system, which was under the overall jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Labor (through the Employment Service), were due primarily to the unwillingness of other agencies (federal, state and local) to be bound by a system dominated by the Employment Service (or Labor Department).

--Concentrated Employment Programs (CEP), which attempted to accomplish in ghetto areas what CETA is now attempting to do in larger jurisdictions, were often hampered because employers, unions and other agencies were reluctant to work with Community Action Agencies, the prime sponsors of local CEPS.

It is interesting to note, however, that following the riots of the 1960s, local MDTA advisory committees lost a considerable amount of their power and in many cases went out of business altogether. The result was that MDTA institutional and OJT programs underwent an expansion, and unions began to institute pre-apprenticeship programs, using MDTA money. What happened? It seems that public pressure, or the demands of individuals acting as citizens, interceded in what had been primarily an underpublicized battle between institutions. Something had to give in the case of the MDTA program it was labor opposition. The point is that unless the consciousness of the public is raised, or unless the public is concerned about specific problems which are being aggravated by institutional polarization, there is very little pressure on institutions to change their positions, or to compromise in order to effect potential solutions to the problems.

All this, of course, is past history; the best that can be done is to understand its lessons. For present purposes, however, it might be well to take a look at the current mechanism designed to achieve cooperation and coordination of manpower programs at the local level--CETA.

CETA

The Comprehensive Manpower and Training Act mandated that two types of advisory bodies be established: (1) State Manpower Services Councils; and (2) Prime Sponsor CETA Planning or Advisory Councils. According to a 1975 evaluation of coordinated linkages among manpower programs, neither of these advisory bodies have had an impact in coordinating manpower programs at either the state or local levels.[42] State Manpower Services Councils have been concerned primarily with grants to the states mandated by CETA, and local advisory committees or councils have apparently been established merely to meet CETA requirements. The relationship of the local committees to the program planning and decision-making process is often obscure and poorly defined.

The evaluation upon which the above remarks were based, however, was conducted in 1975. As CETA was passed in 1973, many of the programs reviewed had been in existence for only a short period of time. A new study, which will not be completed until January 1978 (and in whch the author of this paper is participating), indicates that in some areas significant contributions are being made by State Manpower Services Councils. Perhaps the most important is in the area of local labor market information. For example, in California and Georgia, contracts have been entered into between state CETA offices and State Employment Security Departments to provide local labor market information for CETA prime sponsors. In California, the research and statistics division of the Employment Development Department (Employment Service) sponsored a conference for all local prime sponsors to determine their needs with regard to local labor market information. Regular reports and projections will be supplied to prime sponsors on a monthly basis.

This is an encouraging development. The provision of local labor market information has never been considered a high priority by the U. S. Department of Labor, or its Bureau of Labor Statistics. A 1972 evaluation of the effectiveness of MDTA in meeting employers' needs in skill shortage occupations noted: "A major finding and conclusion of this report is that no system exists for defining or identifying skills shortage occupations at the local level, despite the introduction of computerized data gathering systems, the existence of a national industrial matrix, the methodologies for forecasting national occupational needs, applicant information (including unemployment insurance transactions), and other valid sources of information. No system exists for synthesizing and storing occupational information emanating from many sources. For the most part, the research and statistics staffs of Employment Security agencies are operating as field staffs to generate aggregate data that are used in identifying national or state trends; they are not providing staff services to the operating arms of the Employment Service. As a result, planning is left to those least capable of understanding complicated information gathering systems and methodologies for identifying demand or skills shortage occupations, or for making occupational forecasts."[43]

The same report also pointed out that the presence of employers on advisory committees and councils does not assure the generation of local labor market information. Based on interviews with more than 300 employers in 14 cities, it was concluded that most employers do not make occupational projections and have little knowledge of community labor market needs, as differentiated from the needs of their individual firms. "Everyone seems to agree," the report noted, "that employers should participate in the planning process for all manpower programs, but if individual employers do not use forecasts and do not have much knowledge of employer manpower requirements other than their own, the question as to how they should be used is very pertinent indeed. Certainly, the addition of two or three employers to an advisory committee is not going to be of much help to planners in identifying training occupations, other than those that the employers know about in their own firms."[44]

The fact is that the provision of labor market information to local communities could be accomplished in a very short period of time if trained state, regional and local Employment Service research and statistics staff were given the assignment. It is doubtful that this will occur as long as such personnel are considered field staff for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It is encouraging, however, that the use of state CETA funds (not local prime sponsor funds) are being used, in some states at least, to finance the generation--by professionals--of much needed local labor market information.

The "New Means"

The "New Means" suggested in The Boundless Resource would be a tri-partite council, consisting of representatives of education, the work sector, and the "community" (presumably parents, students and civic leaders). The councils would be called community-work education councils, and one of their first tasks would be to provide for "an independent, toughminded process for critical evaluation, to be initiated when the project is started and carried on through to cover every element of failure as well as success."[45]

Relying essentially on community initiative, council functions would include "both the rendering of services directly to youth and the 'brokering' of functions of established institutions--particularly schools, employing enterprises, labor unions, employment agencies, and families."[21] Council agenda would include:

1. Counseling -- Advice to Students
2. The Development of Local Occupational Information
3. The Development of a School Placement Service and Follow-Up System
4. Advancement of Career Education and Education-Experience Programs
5. Promotion of Educational Interchanges (or new methods of alternating education and experience)

The one, distinctive characteristic of the proposed community-work education councils is that they would be initiated by "communities as a whole," rather than by institutional segments of the community. Their first task would be to provide for evaluations of what presently exists; presumably, their future agenda would be based on the results of these evaluations.

There is no doubt that there is a need for an assessment of present mechanisms designed to facilitate the transition between school and work. In fact, such an assessment should be conducted before a new institution is imposed on those already existing in the nation's communities. The activities suggested for the proposed community-work education councils are already being performed by a variety of committees and councils, but reliable information on how well existing mechanisms are working is woefully lacking. Arguments to the effect that high youth unemployment rates, or the existence of special jobs for youth, are an indication of how poorly youth are being prepared for work, beg the question. High unemployment rates (for youth, older workers, or individuals in their prime working years) are a reflection of economic conditions, and the existence of special jobs for youth may be more of an indication of the existence of a transitional process rather than the absence of one. What is needed is evidence that "poor preparation" (which is directly attributable to school deficiencies) is a significant factor in limiting the career horizons of youth, or barring their entry into the work force.

If it could be proved that this is the case, it would be much easier to martial local support for community-work education councils.

4. CRUCIAL ISSUES

In Section II of this paper, seven issues relating to ideas and assumptions underlying the proposed establishment of community-work education councils were identified. They were as follows:

1. Are the causes of youth unemployment economic in nature, and if so, how can manipulation of the educational system result in a lower youth unemployment rate?

2. Is the reason why more adults do not seek educational renewal caused by isolation between education and the work sector, or is there a lack of demand on the part of adults for reenrollment in education and retraining programs?

3. Can "collaboration" as opposed to "cooperation" between education and other institutions at the community level take place under existing conditions, or would there have to be a groundswell of public demand for the sharing of educational responsibilities?

4. Should not the term "community" be more clearly defined if the proposed councils are to initiate activities in such areas as the generation of local labor market information and placement?

5. From the federal point of view, wouldn't there have to be joint funding of councils in order that no one segment of the community would exert undue influence on council policy and decisions?

6. Is there sufficient concern on the part of the general public, employers, parents and students regarding the transition from school to work (and work to school) to promote genuine interest in the establishment of community-work education councils?

7. Who or what agency or group would be responsible for establishing councils, who would be selected for membership, and what would be the basis for selection--public relations (or advocacy), expertise, or both?

The above can be subsumed into four major issues: (1) Community Interest; (2) the Question of Isolation; (3) the Question of Poor Preparation; and (4) the Federal Role. Each are discussed below.

Community Interest

The proposal for the establishment of community-work education councils is based on the assumption that the general public is deeply concerned with the question of education-work policies--that individuals in their private capacities as parents and citizens are demanding a new approach to the transition between school and work and/or between work and other adult roles and school. While it is true that there is a great deal of concern about the quality of the educational system in general, there is little evidence to indicate that this specific issue is of priority concern to parents, students, civic leaders and others who represent the public interest. Few blame the educational system for high unemployment rates, and few unemployed youths blame their inability to obtain entry-level positions on deficiencies in the educational system. In other words, either rightly or wrongly, people are not conscious of the problem. If this is indeed the case, the outlook for establishing tri-partite councils, primarily on the initiative of communities acting as whole, is not bright. The evidence seems to indicate that the major impetus for the formation of industry-education councils has come from the business sector--not from the general public.

The Question of Isolation

The charge that education and the work sector are totally isolated from one another is an exaggeration. Two out of three members of local school boards are representatives of management, and a significant number are members of labor unions. Well over 100,000 businessmen and labor representatives serve on advisory committees to schools and school districts, and the contributions of industry to education amount to well over $200 million a year. The number of advisory committees to vocational education alone is in excess of 20,000 and industry (and to a lesser extent labor) officials are enthusiastically supporting the development of career education programs. It may be that communication between education and the work sector could be improved, but it is not accurate to state that they operate in total isolation. The crucial question is whether it is advisable to superimpose another council over the maze of committees and councils that already exist, or to seek improvement in the operation of presently existing mechanisms.

The Question of Poor Preparation

The charge that students are not well prepared to make the transition from school to work is not often supported with facts. Most of the arguments in support of this allegation--high youth unemployment rates, the existence of special jobs for youth, restrictive labor standards legislation--are unrelated to the educational process or to the interaction between education and the work sector. What is needed is evidence that student inability to obtain jobs is directly related to deficiencies in school or school-work programs. Perhaps, before a new institution is formed, an assessment should be made of presently existing school-work linkages at the community level. The results of such an assessment would provide objective information regarding the strengths and deficiencies of existing systems, and the basis for possible future action.

The Federal Role

The objective of the pilot project is to encourage the formation of community work-education councils without at the same time creating the impression that the project is, in Paul Barton's words, "just another avenue for obtaining federal support." Furthermore, since the councils will not necessarily have objectives, in the traditional sense of that term, but will "discover purpose in the course of experiencing activity," federal evaluation efforts will be difficult. Finally, since it is hoped that the councils will be community initiated (with only a small nudge from the federal government), there doesn't appear to be a federal role over and above the initial funding of the project and consortium. About all interested federal officials can do is sit back and wait for a year or two before going in to see whether any of the possible "results," hypothesized by Barton, have actually happened.

Notes

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24. John J. Walsh and Vincent J. Breglio, *An Assessment of School Supervised Work Education Programs Part II: Urban Cooperative Work Education Programs and Follow-Up Study* (San Francisco: Olympus Research Centers, 1976) pp. 166-167.

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